

25 CENTS.

# The ARENA

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into THE ARENA.  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."

— Heine.

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF SOCIAL ADVANCE.

Edited by PAUL TYNER.

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Reviewed by Helen Campbell and H. W. Dresser

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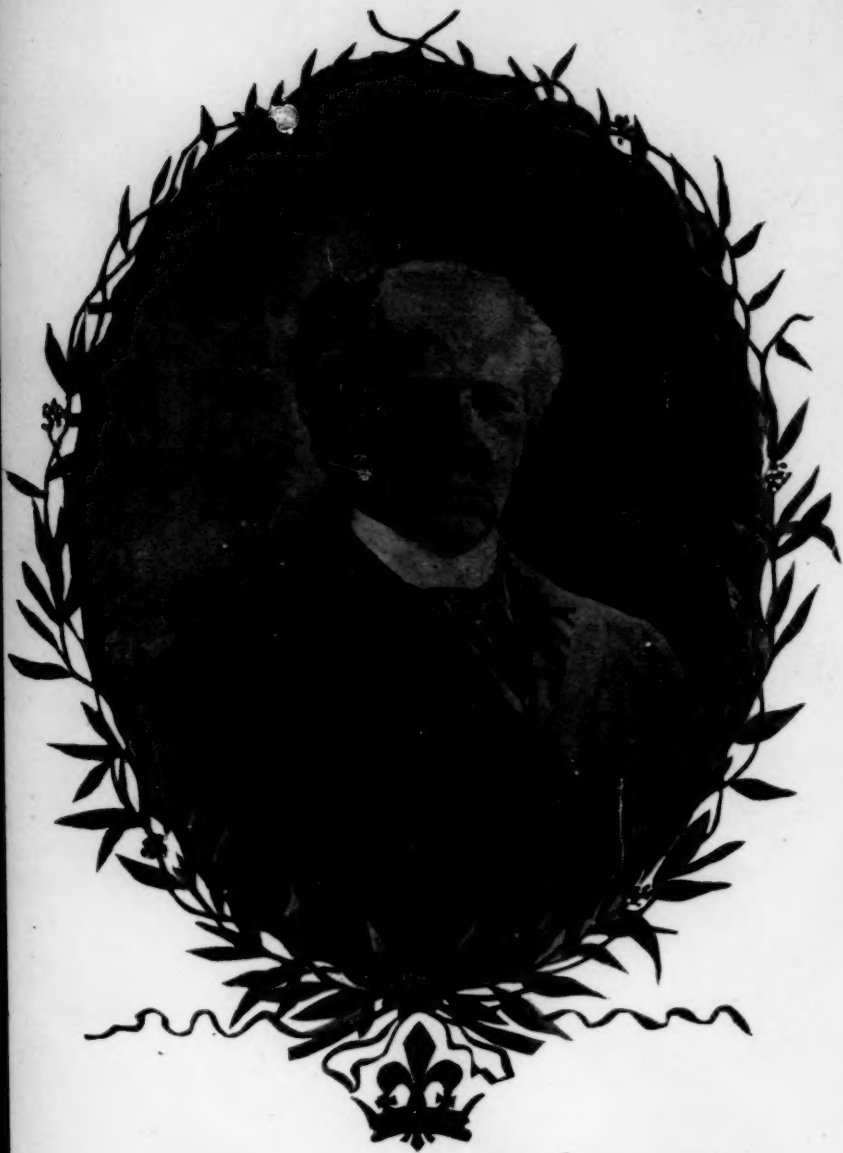
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(Incorporated 1899.)



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SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

(See article "French Canadian Liberalism," pp. 151-165.)



# THE ARENA

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## FRENCH CANADIAN LIBERALISM.

DURING the past year, and since the English and Canadian members of the International Commission have been much in Washington, a great deal has been written in the daily press about the most prominent member of that commission, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He has become comparatively well known to us, we admire him personally, and know pretty well what, through that commission, he is seeking to accomplish for his country. But few of us know anything of the political party to which he has always belonged, its birth, its aims, and its accomplishments; nor of the men who by their struggles in years gone by, made it possible that he, their worthy successor, should be Canada's virtual ruler today.

For half a century prior to that memorable year in Canada's history—1837—the French Canadians had been vainly struggling for the recognition of the national, political, and religious rights that were guaranteed to them when they had been ceded to England by France. From the very consummation of the conquest had that struggle begun, and it was waged against terrible odds. Legislation was enacted such as the “navigation acts,” the “stamp act,” and the “tea tax,” under which our own American fathers writhed. Governors, royal satellites, and arrogant functionaries had undertaken to Anglicize the Canadians, and make of their beloved country, *leur beau pays*, another oppressed, browbeaten, and broken-spirited Ireland!

Justice had been defiled by every species of infamy; malversation was protected by the representatives of the crown. The lower house (the "assembly") was dominated by a legislative council composed of men named by the crown, and absolutely irresponsible to the people, and antipathetic to everything that was French and Catholic. Fat offices and high honors were showered upon a miserable little faction, to the detriment of the rights of the majority. Audacious projects of denationalization had become principles. Constitutional and parliamentary laws were constantly violated, and the control of public expenditures was denied to the real representatives of the people, the assembly.

These were a few of the stings that had goaded such men as Washington, Henry, Franklin, and Adams into wresting a portion of her American colonies from England, who, in spite of that lesson, still continued those tactics in the government of what was left her. This is but one little corner of the picture that history uncurtains to our gaze. The French Canadians were insulted, scorned, humiliated, and robbed by a pack of "carpetbaggers," who scoffed at all laws, divine or human.

There was in the ranks of the oppressed, however, the stuff with which leaders and great statesmen are made. Some there had been who had already proved to their oppressors that it was as difficult to conquer them in the parliamentary arena as it had been to conquer their fathers at Louisburg and at Quebec. After Bédard and the elder Papineau there rose up another Papineau, "the younger," the stalwart tribune who, for thirty years, was the glory and the bulwark of the infant party, the liberals.

A day came when England, dismayed at the attitude of the assembly that so aggressively voiced the sentiments of the people, made overtures to it, tried to cajole it into believing its demands would be acceded to; but too late! Mere shreds of concessions were no longer the proper bait. Nothing would do but the famous "ninety-two propositions," inspired by Papineau and worded by Morin.

The Assembly, in spite of three dissolutions within a year, persisted in refusing to vote the necessary funds for the maintenance of the government until it received the redress of the wrongs recited in those "ninety-two propositions." Lord John Russell thought to take the bull by the horns in having the British parliament authorize Lord Gosford to seize what funds there were in the national exchequer for the necessities of the service. This most arbitrary proceeding was too much for even Canadian patience. Everywhere the people arose and loudly protested.

There is no doubt that such a proceeding was illegal and unconstitutional. But it was a fitting climax to the tyrannical politics to which the Canadians had so long submitted. That it was unconstitutional was claimed, at the time, in parliament, by such men as Hume, Stanley, Warburton, and Lord Brougham, — men who openly called it a "ministerial inciting to revolt." Lord Brougham's speech, in which he defended the Canadian uprising, was one of the most impassioned and artistic tongue-lashings the party in power received during those stirring times when oratory was not almost a lost art in Westminster. "You say," cried he, "that all the trouble arose about our taking a miserable twenty thousand pounds from them (the Canadians) without their consent! Only twenty thousand pounds without consulting their representatives! Well! was it not for only twenty shillings that Hampden resisted usurped authority, and by that resistance acquired the immortal fame that all the Plantagenets and the Guelphs would have given every drop of blood in their veins for? . . . If it is a crime to resist oppression and to defend one's rights, when assailed, who are the greatest criminals? Are we not ourselves? Did we not set the example first to our American brothers? . . ."

Lord Durham, who was sent to Canada purposely to enquire into the causes of the insurrection, admitted the legitimacy of the Canadians' complaints and the necessity of remedying the abuses, to which those in power had subjected the country. He further reported that what the

assembly had done was the only alternative left it to secure the recognition of its rights. Lord Dufferin, only a few years ago, in writing about the events of '37, said: "... under as corrupt a government as Canada had then, it is only surprising that matters (meaning the revolution) went no further . . . ."

From protests it was but a step to open revolt.

The insurrection of '37-'38 was short-lived however. England had learned one lesson in America. Her garrisons were well scattered. Concentrations of large forces were easily headed off. "Patriotism and pikes" were of small account against British cannon and thousands. Such men as Morin, Girouard, Lafontaine, Fabre, Duvernay, Lanctot, Perrault, Rodier, Berthelot, O'Callaghan, Cherrier, Viger, Roy, Meilend, Leslie, De Witt, Scott, Robert and Wolfred Nelson were among the leaders. Leniency was shown to those who were taken after the first outbreak, but when the second "offence" was committed short shrift was meted out to the leaders. Ninety-eight were condemned to death by court-martial. Of these, twelve were hanged, twenty-eight released under bond, and fifty-eight exiled. That the movement was not more successful is attributable, in no small degree, to the Catholic clergy. At first these gentlemen wavered 'twixt their natural (French) hatred of the English, and their selfish interests. The *latter* won the day! People had not yet learned to think for themselves; what the *curé* said was at that time law to most men in Canada. The clergy had been pampered by the authorities. Their grants of vast domains and other advantages were recognized. They feared a new order of things, and suspected — not without reason — that the liberals would not be so liberal with them. They deserted their own kin and threw their influence with the powers that were, and ever since the clergy have been almost solidly conservative, and have attempted by every means in their power — and that is great — to stem the tide towards liberalism. To-day the French Canadian liberals are, to a man almost, Catholics, but not "petted sons of the church" by any means.

Although the open revolt of '57 had been crushed, not so the spirit of opposition. During the ensuing years the party had gathered strength under the brilliant leadership of Cauchon, Viger, Louis Joseph Papineau, and Drummond. In vain had Metcalf and Cathcart laid deep pit-falls for them, aided by McNab, John A. McDonald, Sherwood, Daly, and Cameron. The party had remained united in the face of despotism, fanaticism, bribery, and — the clergy! It was only in 1848 that the first symptoms of party division were noticed in lower Canada. Lafontaine headed the faction that had accepted the new *régime*, a constitution, good enough in itself, but maladministered by the Colonial Bureau. Papineau — upon his return from exile — undertook to undo all that had been done, and headed the faction of the younger, more zealous and ardent spirits, whose only regret was that they had not been old enough to take up arms in '37. This faction found vent for their enthusiasm in a little paper, *l'Avenir* — "The Future" — in which they posed as reformers and regenerators in all matters political, social, or otherwise, that affected the country. They clamored for the now historical "twenty-one articles," beginning with a demand for the "election of justices of the peace, instead of appointments," and winding up with a plea for "annexation to the United States!" The only excuse for these ultra-liberals was their youth — the oldest was but twenty-two. The spirit of revolt was in the air, things were unsettled, deep rumblings were heard. Ah! those were awful years, just preceding '48! With what horror do we now glance over the records of that period, when the "evil spirit of revolt went stalking o'er the earth," and by some electric power, at a given moment almost, and in a score of countries scattered far and wide, drove eighty millions of men into bloody revolutions!

Every fresh revolt, heralded from Europe, added fuel to the fire that was consuming these headstrong youngsters. In 1852, however, they began to see the error of their ways. They abandoned the old paper and established *Le Pays*

"The Country," and sought,—without always finding it, 'tis true—the road for the real friends of liberty to follow, under the constitution. Great harm had been done however. The clergy, realizing what their brethren of the cloth had suffered in every revolution that had shaken old Europe, began to wage a pitiless warfare — anathemas, brimstone, and sulphur were some of the weapons — against the new party. The English population, friends of liberty always, but also in favor of law and order, as vigorously condemned the party that for the twenty-five years following, constituted, without a break, the "opposition" in parliament, — a party that took the lead, the initiative, in all the reforms that were accomplished during that period, but that carried off none of the glory therefor. The generation of '48 had almost entirely disappeared from the political world when the first faint rays of the liberal sun were seen in the eastern horizon. Since then great accessions have been made; new blood, new ideas, experience, and a ripened judgment are at the tiller. The old socialistic notions have vanished, and today the liberal principles in Canada are identical with those of the party in England. It is no longer "Liberty!" "Deliverance from oppression!" and their other old battle-cries — but then, England has changed too.

The other faction, under Lafontaine, soon allied themselves to the tories of upper Canada, under the title of "liberal-conservatives," — we in the United States would call them plain "mugwumps." A few years later they abandoned even the prefix and became simply "conservatives." Then, later modifications took place, and today they are called "ultra-montanes." They are "more catholic than the Pope," as a Frenchman would say! As their name has changed so have their principles. If Sir George Cartier (their greatest leader) could come back to life, he would not know them for his party. Their ideas are patterned after the *réactionnaires* of France. The question of religion is the great point of difference; and not so much religion, either, as its political status. The liberals, as stated, are nearly all Catholics, but



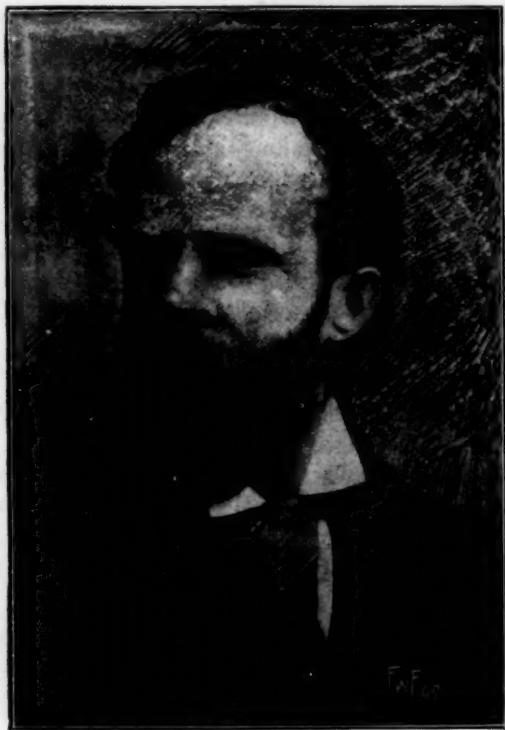
their objects are the same politically as are those of the liberal Presbyterians of Ontario. Their affiliation with protestants is looked upon with disfavor by the *ultramontanes*, as tending to the destruction of the true faith! The liberals believe in the clergy's rights, their opinions and legitimate work in politics, but deprecate undue influence and pulpit politics — threatening hell and refusing the sacraments to a poor wretch who thinks he ought to vote contrary to their instructions. I have heard such sermons myself, and not so many years ago either. If Canada has been bothered beyond patience with contested and invalid elections, the cause is almost invariably undue influence. The home government has jealously watched developments, and the tendency, even among the English conservatives, has been to abolish this fruitful source of trouble. If the voting is not free, the constitution is violated, "responsible government" would be a hollow title, and, sooner or later, as is invariably the case elsewhere, suppression and compression would lead to explosion, violence, ruin! Those in high places in the Catholic hierarchy have been brought to understand this, and such men as the recent ablegates from Rome, Monsignor Conroy and Monsignor Mery del Val have done much to bring about a little of that "peace and good-will" in religio-political matters that is so seldom found in such mixed communities.

The true principles of liberalism were well defined by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1877, and we can well pause here to glance at them. "We are a happy people," said he, "and free, and we are happy and free, thanks to the liberal institutions that guide us, institutions that we owe to the efforts of our fathers and to the wisdom of the mother country. The politics of the liberal party are to protect those institutions, to defend them, and to propagate them, and, under the dominion of those institutions, to develop the latent resources of our country. Such are our principles, our politics."

It was these principles that carried the day in the elections of 1854, when, by an enactment of 1853, one hundred and thirty deputies were returned, instead of the customary



eighty-four; the first great liberal triumph under the leadership of Sir A. A. Dorion. That election was the political burial of Morin, who, like the other offshoot, Lafontaine, had failed to loyally carry out the reforms he had promised when entering into the Hincks-Morin ministry.



MEDERIC LANCTOT.

No events of great political importance occurred in Canada until confederation became a law, March 28, 1867. There had been varying sympathies with the contesting north and south of the United States. Some Fenian raids upon the border had been blamed upon the liberals, and also

some internal dissensions and some great fires, that, no doubt, were unjustly blamed upon them. Then there was a brush or two with the United States upon questions of treaty rights, harboring of hostile bands, and the like. But we are more interested just now with men than with events.

One of the greatest liberals of his day, one of the fiercest opponents of confederation, a man who made history for his country, and who was destined to occupy the highest places in that country had not grim death so prematurely closed his brilliant career, was Mederic Lanctot. Born in prison, December 8, 1838, where his mother was permitted to visit his father just prior to the latter's deportation to Australia for his participation in the revolt of 1837, and educated at the college of St. Hyacinthe, he early gave signs of wonderful precocity. The romantic circumstances of his birth and his talents awakened the enthusiastic recognition of the people. At an early age he edited the *Courrier de St. Hyacinthe*; and the vigor and trenchant style of these early editorials would have gladdened the heart of the *gloveless* Charles A. Dana. In 1858 he began the study of law under Messrs. Dontre and Daorest, both of whom, no doubt, added to his liberal as well as to his legal education. Mr. Dontre will be remembered as the brilliant queen's counsel who carried the celebrated Guibord burial case even to the privy council of England, where he was victorious. It was a liberal victory, one of the achievements of the *Institut Canadien* (that union that so long battled for the cause against such terrible odds) and his client *was* buried in the catholic cemetery (although a freemason), where he owned a lot, in spite of the clergy, canonical maledictions, excommunications, and an armed mob. In 1860 Lanctot was received at the bar, visited Europe, on his return founded the liberal sheet, *La Presse*, in Montreal, and formed a co-partnership with Wilfrid Laurier.

In 1864 Sir John A. McDonald and Sir George Cartier, unable to longer retain their power by ordinary means, planned the confederation act. It was a masterly *coup d'état*. The liberals fought it tooth and nail, denounced the proposi-

tion of the government as illegal, particularly that part of it which suggested the change in the constitution without allowing a popular vote upon the question ; protested against the veto and the power given to the English provinces to augment the number of their representatives proportionately to their population, while lower Canada would be condemned to a *fixed* number of deputies always — thus placing the French Canadians under the power of an ever-increasing majority that some time would completely crush them and their aspirations.

Future events must prove the falsity or correctness of their fears ! In spite of all efforts to the contrary, confederation became a fact, and, from that time on, Lanctot's one object in life was to beat Cartier at the polls in '67. He was elected to the city council of Montreal, and early in the winter of '67 began a most gigantic work, that of organizing all the workmen of the country into unions. Then labor unions were comparatively unknown, in fact a great many of ours are today planned upon Lanctot's original scheme. Coöperative stores were established, libraries were founded, the education of the masses was undertaken, night after night meetings were held, brilliant discourses made, and, one night in June, the enthusiasm of the people culminated in almost the apotheosizing of their hero. A great torchlight procession took place, thousands of men were in line, each trade by itself and bearing transparencies with all sorts of mottoes : "Vive Lanctot !" "He is our Saviour !" etc., etc. It was a spontaneous outburst, such as only men with French blood coursing through their veins are capable of. There was no preparation nor inciting of the people, and never before nor since has there been such an ovation given to any man in Canada. Lanctot was carried around — involuntarily — in a carriage alternately drawn by four horses, then by many willing hands. Windows were ablaze, bells were ringing, and bands playing. As the procession passed his home a brother, Phileas, carried out a little tot of a girl to kiss her "conquering" father, as he was hailed ; that act greatly stirred the

people. "A grandchild of '37, but *not* born in prison!" they shouted, and threw flowers, hats, and handkerchiefs at the daughter of their leader. If the election had taken place the next day Lanctot's majority would easily have been a thousand or fifteen hundred, but Cartier, shrewd and seasoned politician that he was, knowing well how time subdued such enthusiasm, kept postponing the day; and even with his recognized ability, with fifty thousand dollars spent upon the election, with his leadership and control of the political machinery, he only carried his division by a two hundred and thirty votes majority over his penniless and youthful adversary. Lanctot's career was a checkered one from that time. He held some office at Ottawa for a while, plunged into some speculation scheme in New York, and finally bought a paper at Hull, near Ottawa, in which he valiantly battled for the old principles. Sickness and reverses overcame him, and one night, after a thirty-mile drive that day in the mountains to reach his family's summer home, he breathed his last at the same moment that a cowardly mob was looting and burning his office in the city. He died at the age of thirty-nine, but had lived at least sixty years, and, as an admiring Canadian historian puts it, "he had displayed more talent and greater activity than have many great men who had founded empires!" He certainly was a brilliant lawyer, a remarkable journalist, and an orator of the highest order. If he had lived in 1793 he would have rivalled Camille Desmoulins; if in '37, why, he would either have won the day,—for he *was* an organizer such as the Canadians did not have at that time,—or he would have terminated his career upon a British gallows-tree.

Lanctot's young partner, Wilfrid Laurier, a tall, pale, sickly youth, took but small part in those early struggles, apart from his writings; yet, Lanctot often declared that his sick friend would *not* die that year nor the next, but was of the timber with which liberal prime-ministers were made, a prediction that was verified June 23, 1896.

Wilfrid Laurier was born Nov. 20, 1841, at St. Lin, a modest parish of lower Canada, the son of a land surveyor.

He entered the Assumption college in '54, and gave early evidence of his ability. He was admitted to the bar in '64, and after practising a while with Lanctot in Montreal, he removed, on account of his health, to Athabaska and took charge of the paper, *Le Défricheur*, in the place of Eric Dorion, "*L'Enfant Terrible*," who had just died. Some months afterward the paper also ceased to exist; and Mr. Laurier devoted himself exclusively to his profession, and with such good results that he soon acquired considerable wealth and popularity. He was elected to the local legislature in 1871, then to the Federal chamber in 1873, when he was called upon to reply to the "speech from the throne."

The liberal party had just come into power with a majority of eighty in two hundred and six deputies. The conservatives, who had held the reins for eighteen years with hardly an interruption, were obliged to resign as a sequel to the disgraceful Canadian Pacific scandal that had been brought home to them by Mr. Huntingdon of Shefford. Alexander McKenzie was called upon by Lord Dufferin to form a new ministry. It was a great day for the liberals. Twice they almost had the destinies of the province in their grasp and twice had they been wrecked — once in 1858, under the Brown-Dorion ministry, and again in 1862-64 under the McDonald-Sicotte and the McDonald-Dorion ministries.

This first important speech of Laurier's placed him at once in the front rank of Canadian orators. The surprise of the English members can be imagined when they heard this "young Frenchman" addressing them in the most polished, correct, yes, classical English many of them had ever heard. Later, in 1874, he again charmed them with his marvelous flow of beautiful language in his speech against the expulsion of Riel from the chamber, and later still did he bring his oratorical batteries to bear upon the enemy in the cause of that same poor zealot.

It was after the second revolt in the northwest. The "half-breeds" had been crushed, and Riel, their leader, executed, and his cruel death, or, rather, sacrifice, had pro-

foundly agitated the people. Mr. Blake, then the leader of the opposition, moved a vote of censure against the government, holding it responsible for the troubles that led up to that tragedy; but it was Laurier, Mr. Blake's lieutenant, who carried the honors in that fiery debate. His was a most pathetic appeal to the national conscience, and it was a subject that gave him full play for all his powers of oratory, diction, and sincere eloquence. It was long remembered as the finest effort that had for long been made at Ottawa. He was called the "silver tongued Laurier."

His presence is inspiring, his oratory most brilliant, his word-painting beautiful, his choice of language, both in French and English, superb. He holds his audiences for hours; truly an orator as well as a patriot. Such as he was thirty years ago so is he today. His whole life is a logical, systematic, continued series of chapters without the usual jarring breaks found in most political lives. His politics are of the English liberal school, the school that gave to politics Gladstone and Fox.

When the English leader, Mr. Blake, retired, the mantle of the liberal leadership naturally fell upon the shoulders of his French Canadian lieutenant, Mr. Laurier. Those were trying times, a succession of discouraging defeats. Yet with an energy that won the admiration of even his opponents, he set about elevating the *morale* of his partisans, inspiring hope in them and leading them over all obstacles to a victory in 1896 that, in spite of all, he had ever felt sure of reaching.

His handling of those delicate matters, the "Jesuits' rights," the school troubles in Manitoba and in New Brunswick, and the uprising in the northwest show him to be an intrepid man, a diplomat, and a just and good man.

It was this man who led the party, whose history we have but glanced at, to its notable success in 1896, when for the first time in its history it obtained absolute and complete control of a united Canada. As its leader, he became the prime minister and formed his cabinet; and, next to the queen and



her representative, the governor-general, the nominal ruler of Canada, it is he in whose hands lies the destiny of our northern neighbors. He believes that while languages may separate his people, they should not divide them; that church and state must be separate; that the British constitution is a perfect guide, and that the American arrangement of federal and state rights is a model by which to pattern. Think of the possibilities!

His management of affairs since that election, his policy in dealing with the United States, his action as to the treaties with Belgium and with Germany, his prominence in England during the queen's jubilee,—all these are matters of too recent history to need recapitulation here. Suffice it to add that in England he is looked upon as the peer of any of her statesmen. In France he is compared to Jules Faure; and here in Washington he is known as the Lincoln of Canada, for he, too, was a poor boy who, by his unaided efforts, has risen to the highest place his country can bestow, has united the widely different peoples of that country and brought order out of chaos.

Whatever may have been the virtues of his opposing party, the conservatives, in earlier times, these certainly had become microscopic just prior to its downfall. Scandal followed fast upon scandal, the Langevin, the McGreevy, the Connolly, the Curran Bridge matters were enough to damn a stronger organization. Public works were openly voted upon merely to enrich pet contractors, protection was the instrument with which political subscriptions were extorted from manufacturers, and taxation was heavy upon the land. The party had lost its best men; at least its strongest, Sir John A. McDonald, Sir John Thompson, and Sir John Abbott had died within four years. Sir McKenzie Bowell was a most ordinary man, possessing neither strength of character, statesmanship, nor any of the qualities of a leader. The conservative bark was rudderless, its sails in shreds, its anchor lost, and, with no one left to rig even a jury-sail, it was wrecked upon the rock of public opinion; and, as an enthusiastic liberal has said, "it



remains not even a dangerous derelict in the lane of navigation through which the liberals are steaming under a full head of steam, and with a tried and true pilot at the wheel!"

F. W. FITZPATRICK.

*Washington, D. C.*

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## THE DEPARTMENT STORE IN THE EAST.

### I. CONFUSION FROM CHEAPNESS IN BOSTON.

CONFUSION from surrounding cheapness — this is the axis upon which revolves that mammoth institution known as the department store.

With the establishment in Paris, some thirty years ago, of the Bon Marché, practically began this novel and tremendously consequential mercantile system. The promoters, in the face of what was considered axiomatic commercial usage, decided that if great quantities of goods, embracing many classes of commodities, could be gathered under one roof and offered for sale at low prices, the bewilderment to the visitors would result profitably. People entering such a store would be attracted, first, by the overwhelming display; and next, by the prices — possible mainly because procured in enormous wholesale consignments — and would be bound to become purchasers. The woman who had bought the few yards of calico wished, perhaps, to buy some groceries; but instead of having to consume time in trudging several squares to the grocery store, she had only to enter the firm's grocery "department," a few steps away, and food material unlimited was to be found. From silks to molasses and from nails to saddlery, the gamut of purchasing could swiftly be run. Convenience and cheapness were likely to keep her ordering until her purse was emptied. The Bon Marché soon proved it had come to stay, and shrewd merchants were not dilatory

in realizing the significance of the fact. In Boston the houses of Jordan, Marsh & Company and R. H. White & Company have become monuments to this discovery.

The objections to the department stores are summed up in the complaints that they are headquarters for sweat-shop goods, pay starvation wages, and effect the demoralization of girls.

The houses of Jordan, Marsh & Company and the R. H. White company constitute the two leading department stores of Boston. The Marsh concern is one of the largest of its class in the world, and the firm is the largest employer of labor in New England. The daily requirements of its business are: 25 tons of coal to warm the store and furnish power, 24 elevators, 1 electric plant, 334 arc lights, 4,612 incandescent lights, 75 departments containing as many classes of merchandise, and 20 foreign buyers to keep them supplied. The chief building of the R. H. White company is near the Marsh store; and as the White company is about to erect a large addition, the space supremacy of the Marsh company over its greatest rival will be of short duration. In fact, these two firms have kept pace with one another in general development.

Close at the heels of these establishments is that of Houghton & Dutton. This firm handles a cheaper class of goods, and caters to a larger class of customers than either Marsh or White, so that its business is enormous. Its growth has recently necessitated a new eight-story addition. The Pitts, Kimball & Lewis company is a fourth large department store, which has made extensive new building additions. Of lesser importance is the B. F. Larrabee Company.

The Jordan-Marsh company and the R. H. White company practically dictate the department store policy in New England, and it will hence be readily understood why their names will occur frequently in this paper.

It is often supposed that the marvelously low prices at which garments and fabrics are sold by the department stores are possible only because the articles are of sweat-shop

production. When one begins to probe this allegation, it is found that it does not rest upon a very certain basis. The fact is, that the great department houses of the city aim largely to possess their own factories and their own supply shops. Capital has enabled them to secure control of grounds and buildings, and shrewdness has declared it was cheaper, in the end, to make their own goods in quantities desired than to purchase generally from sweat-shops, which latter practice was bound to be exposed. The Massachusetts district police, consisting of forty-nine officers, is the body whose duty it is to see that the laws relating to sweat-shops and the ventilation and sanitation of factories and work-rooms are enforced, and that violations of the same are punished. No state in the country has laws of such strictness in regard to the sweating system as has Massachusetts, and the best evidence of the rigor of their enforcement is revealed in the fact that Boston and New England are rapidly falling off in amount of clothing manufactured. To quote from the recent annual report of the district police:—

“Of boys' and children's clothing, 75 per cent. is made in New York, and the other 25 per cent. about equally divided between Boston and the country. This shows an increase in the amount of New York work, and, also, where formerly only the cheapest grade of goods was sent there, now much of the finer grades are being sent. The only fair reason to be deduced is that the work is sent there simply because it is made cheaper. That a city like Boston, protected by a sweating law that guarantees very nearly perfect safety from contagious disease, should gradually lose its trade in favor of less protected cities is a result that can only be remedied by either national or state laws that shall drive out the sweating system.”

If one will examine this report, he will discover that, as a rule, little or almost no fault has been found with the condition of the factories, work-rooms, or business buildings used by the great department stores of Boston.

Factory Inspector John T. Griffin declares that sweat-shop

goods are not sold to any great extent over the counters of the large stores in Boston. "Practically no sweat-shops are to be found in Boston," he says. "There is, however, some manipulation of the middleman scheme for getting goods here from New York and elsewhere, goods that are really of sweat-shop make. There are contractors who engage exclusively in this business, but the inspectors are on the alert to catch and convict them. With regard to department stores controlling factories or supply depots, I imagine that many an institution, operating under another name, is really the property of some purely department house. A point that should be remembered, also, is that if there were no labor to be done by women and girls in the hemming and trimming of garments, supposing a machine sewed every button upon every garment, it would be hard for many of these persons to get other employment. Many of them are too ignorant, or are not strong enough, to do other kinds of work." As an illustration of some of the prices paid for this trimming work, there may be mentioned the case of a young woman who operates a sewing machine for the hemming of aprons. She receives eleven cents per dozen. She manages to make about a dollar a day.

There is a Massachusetts branch of the Consumers' League, numbering many thousands. This League has its headquarters in New York, and is conducted by women of means and public spirit, who wish to discourage the sweating system, and secure for those who are employed in the supply or main stores of department firms at least living wages and ordinarily comfortable surroundings while at work. Members of the league visit the department stores and their shops or factories; talk with workers, with foremen, and with heads of firms. In short, they endeavor by all possible means to ascertain the facts. They testify that sweat-shop goods are not now sold to any great extent in these stores.

In a talk with Superintendent Barry of the Jordan-Marsh company, he told me that the average number of employees is 3,000 to 3,500, this force being increased in the holiday

or "rush" season to 4,500 or 5,000. Fully four-fifths of the regular force are women and girls. Their weekly wages average, according to the superintendent, between six and seven dollars, though some are paid as high as fifteen dollars, and a few, heads of departments, twenty dollars. The lowest wages paid to a girl or boy, when beginning in the firm's employ at doing up bundles, is three dollars per week; and Mr. Barry insists that the three-dollar help must live at home. The average wage for boys and men is about eight dollars. The R. H. White company does not employ as large a force as does the Marsh company, but essentially the same scale of wages and requirements are in vogue. Wages at Houghton & Dutton's were lower after the three dollar and six to seven dollar grades are passed. Pitts, Kimball & Lewis employ about 400 people, mostly girls. The average wage is six dollars and a half. They do not pay less than five dollars to a girl who does not live at home.

I presented the information I had obtained at the stores to Mrs. Fannie B. Ames, who is widely known in the movement for the betterment of the condition of working women. Mrs. Ames was for five years a factory inspector, and enjoyed unusual advantages for studying the facts. Here is what she told me concerning an important feature of the store system:—

"The story has been told about many a department store,—that pathetically romantic narrative of the beautiful, innocent, and homeless girl applying at the department store for employment, and being met with the offer of two dollars and a half or three dollars a week, a suggestive shrug, concluding with, 'You have a gentleman friend, of course?' I heard it, first about Wanamaker's; I've heard it about Marsh's and White's. In my opinion, it is a libel. I certainly do believe—and I think I have had something of an opportunity to study the inner workings of the department stores of Boston,—that, considering the large number of girls employed, an excellent grade of morality is maintained. As a factory inspector, I will say that I believe that only an exceedingly small proportion of sweat-shop goods are sold in these estab-

lishments. In the larger stores practically none are sold. The sanitary and ventilating condition of Boston's department stores is excellent. As to wages, I should judge the figures you quote to be representative and accurate.

"I will cite an incident or two from my personal experience:—

"A young woman at Marsh's got into trouble. In time, several of us tried to secure her a place once more in the establishment. I talked with Mr. Barry and he said: 'Mrs. Ames, I should like to give her a position again, for I've no doubt, as you say, she means to keep straight in the future; but you know that there are scores of blameless girls here. This girl's misfortune is known to a few here. The story would eventually get noised about the store and—would it be best to set the example? I will help you to get her a position in another place where her story is not known, and where she will have as good a chance as she ever had with us.' I thought a moment, and I could not say that the man was wrong in his judgment. We found the girl a place in another store.

"I came into Marsh's one evening, and noticed a young woman behind the lace counter. She was engaged in the feat of waiting upon four customers at once. I watched her, being attracted by her deftness and ingenuity. I saw that her face was flushed, that she was evidently very tired, and was not a strong girl anyway. There was no seat behind the counter. I asked her about it, and she said they had been making some repairs the past few days, and had to take the seat out. I went up to Mr. Barry and spoke of this girl, told him of how gracefully she was managing the customers, and how I had been interested in her, 'Yet,' I said, 'Mr. Barry, you haven't the grace to give her a seat!'

"'Mrs. Ames,' said he, 'the seat shall be there within fifteen minutes.' And it was. As inspector, I had vastly more trouble with the small dealers than with the large department houses."

The citation of a few specific instances is not sufficient to prove that the department stores are "hot-beds of immorality," or anything of the sort. It is my opinion, after careful investigation, that the moral status of the workers in Boston's department houses will bear favorable comparison with that



of the mill workers in New Bedford or Fall River. Not long ago a new figure in the firm management, with all that spasmodic zeal which characterizes the new managing editor or the new counting-room despot when a change is made, was "going to improve conditions" at Marsh's. He caused the head of the millinery department to be notified that she "could have all the detectives she wished" in efforts to maintain an awesomely high standard of conduct among her underlings. "All the help you want" ran the ukase. The woman knew it would be policy to "do something." So, out of a hundred and fifty girls, with all the tracking of human hounds, the chasing and dogging of every rumor that could be discovered, the grim eying of the feminine mien in store and out, the mighty minions did actually show that three girls deserved discharge for imprudent or improper social conduct! Would a random one hundred and fifty girls or young men in an assembly of even ethical pretensions show a much more creditable moral standard?

At Jordan-Marsh's, employees are due at 8.30 o'clock in the morning, and leave at 5.30 in the afternoon. During the summer, after June 17, the store closes at one o'clock every Saturday. Many conveniences and aids are offered the clerks. The firm has constructed a gymnasium for the young women, and arrangements have been made to give dancing lessons to those desiring them. We were recently asked to applaud the spectacle of Mr. White, of the R. H. White company, chartering a Boston theater, and going with his hundreds of clerks to witness a meritorious play. There are also the mutual benefit associations, made up of employees of the several department establishments of the city. The members of firms and the heads of departments are honorary members of these associations, and contribute to the sick funds and the means for the annual balls.

The advantages of employment in a big store from the standpoint of the young women were well stated by one girl whom I interviewed:



"It is all very well to talk about prejudice against domestic service," she said, "but the whole thing is just this: working in a store is business, in a kitchen it is drudgery. In a store the girl has some chance to do something for herself. She is put behind a counter and told to sell goods; and she knows if she does it well or better than the others about her she is likely to have her salary raised, or to get a better position in the store. If a girl has plenty of ambition and is really a good saleswoman, after a time she may become a buyer for the house, or a traveler. What has a girl in a kitchen to look for? If she is a fine cook she will stay cook as long as she stays with the family; and when she gets out and wants another job, she has to start as cook again. Another thing is that the girl in a store is responsible for her work to the manager of the department and to nobody else. The girl in a kitchen has to please the wife, husband, children, aunt, and any number of visitors who come around; and to please half a dozen people of different tastes is not an easy thing. Besides, I want my evenings to myself, instead of being stuck in a kitchen six nights out of seven. Why, girls in this store belong to musical clubs and socials by the dozen, and there is not one who would change to go into anybody's home as a servant. Besides that, all girls like company, I guess; and if there is any prejudice about the matter, it is with the young men who come to see the girls. You won't find many men who would go to see a girl who was a 'kitchen mechanic;' for that is what they call them. There is no reason why a girl in a store cannot have as much company as she pleases, as her work does not unfit her for it; but if she starts to cook or take any other situation in a house, she will very soon find that there are reasons enough why no young men will come to see her. I suppose every girl looks forward to the time when she will be married, and her chances of securing a good husband are certainly much better if she is working in a store than if she is a domestic servant. No, there is no feature of domestic service that commends it to girls of ambition."

That the department stores have driven out a large proportion of the retailers cannot be denied, and to dilate upon this fact would be like setting out to prove an axiom. What would exist in case the department houses were abolished?

Merely a lot of small houses, each conducted by two or three men. The army of women workers would be dispensed with. Would not higher prices prevail? Take, for example, a small city or town where there are no department stores. An understanding, more or less, prevails among the several shopkeepers, and a code of prices, constituting a tacit trust, is maintained. Possibly a few stores are hiring women bookkeepers, but that is about as far as the employment of women goes. A pretended cutting of prices may occur once in a year. This state of affairs was practically the case in Boston before the advent of the department system. Would a return to this condition benefit the public? If purchasing at low prices, and saving of time while purchasing, be of consequence to the poor, the department store surely offers a vital assistance. Why can these great firms sell so cheap? Because, fundamentally, they can buy in large quantities — by the train load if desired.

A Maine farmer tells me that he can buy beef from Texas, shipped to New England *via* Kansas City, cheaper than he could get it by going twenty miles away and driving home a steer from a neighboring farm. Why? Mammoth wholesaling and highly organized refrigerator car service. Storm as we will over the "Beef Combine" and the "Standard Oil Octopus," beefsteak and coal oil are cheaper than ever before. So it is in relation to the supremacy of the department store.

There is room for improvement, of course; yet my impression is that the department stores of Boston are conducted with fairness, and prove a boon to the working masses — to those employed in the distributive industry they have concentrated and monopolized, no less than to the great army of consumers.

JOHN LIVINGSTON WRIGHT.

*Boston.*

## II. GENERAL STOREKEEPING IN NEW YORK.

IN no city in the world, probably, has the general store attained as complete a development, and entrenched itself so strongly against all possible assaults, trade or otherwise, as in New York. The term "department store," as applied to the great retail mart of today, is, it is maintained by men who have studied this trade development, a misnomer. The term had its origin in the early '70s, when, to economize on rents and to better attract customers, several independent merchants in different lines of trade established themselves under one roof. This, however, was the extent of their connection. Each department or group of departments was a separate business conducted for the individual profit of its owner; and while to the buying public a firm name was sometimes used for the sake of convenience, to the trade world it was perfectly well understood that the department store was not a single business with a homogeneous policy, but an aggregation of widely varying units, under one roof. To a certain very limited extent this is true of the institution known as the department store today, but this feature is so insignificant that it may be disregarded. In one or two of the great stores there are departments which are managed by others than the individuals or corporations under whose name the business is conducted, but in all there are not more than half a dozen such department stores in the two great boroughs of greater New York, where the shopping districts are situated. The great store today is a homogeneous business. Each department is actuated by a common policy, and the profits of the entire aggregation of shops under one roof goes to the enrichment of the firm or corporation conducting the whole. With these facts in mind the great merchants insist that their business is more correctly described as "general storekeeping," than as "department storekeeping."

The question as to the amount of capital employed in the management of department stores in New York seems to be

impossible to answer. I have been unable to find any merchant who would venture even the roughest estimate. Each is unwilling to tell the amount invested in his own business, and all declare that they are unable to form any opinion of the capital possessed by their neighbors. It is certain, however, that the capital, as compared to the volume of business done, is small. Money is turned over frequently in the course of a year, and a dollar that invested in another business might earn three or four per cent. in a year, will earn many times that amount when used in the purchase and sale of goods in the department store. There are, however, about twenty-five large stores in the greater New York, and the capital invested in them has been quoted to me all the way from \$15,000,000 to \$30,000,000.

In these twenty-five stores there are, it is estimated, about 30,000 employees. Some of the largest employ as many as 3,500 persons, and some of the smallest only two or three hundred. Of this great army nearly three-fourths are women, who are chiefly employed in selling, and there is still a large number of children. It is a gratifying fact, though, that the employment of children is constantly on the decrease, and will probably, in a few years, have practically disappeared. Employed chiefly as messengers, "cash" boys and girls, and in similar capacities, their place is being rapidly taken by mechanical devices, which, it is asserted, perform the work required much more rapidly and accurately, while relieving the merchants from the odium so frequently cast upon them by zealous philanthropists and reformers that they are growing rich on the life blood of children.

In this connection a consideration of the treatment of employees of the great New York stores may be interesting. There can be no doubt that the employee of the general store is much to be envied by the employee of the little shopkeeper, and in many instances by the shopkeeper himself. To begin with, the employee of the general store is better paid. Wages of salespersons and clerks in the great stores range from \$6 or \$7 to \$25 a week; and buyers and heads of departments

receive salaries greater in many instances than cabinet ministers, and much greater than the profits of any but the most successful exclusive shopkeepers. In the general store, such work as cleaning out the store, caring for stoves, etc., is done by specially detailed forces of porters. The employee of the general store works in well lighted, well ventilated quarters, with all the most improved toilet and sanitary appliances. In most of the stores there is a retiring room, with a physician in attendance for the employee who may be suddenly stricken with sickness or exhaustion. There is not the same opportunity for tyranny by employers in the great as in the little store. The general store is run by rule, and the personal element is rarely felt. If it should be to any glaring extent the pressure of public opinion would soon correct it.

Much has been done toward ameliorating the condition of those employed in the great stores by the Consumers' League, a national organization with branches in the principal cities of the United States. The Consumers' League is composed of public spirited and philanthropic women, who, noticing the abuses in the great stores, particularly in the field of labor in which women and children are employed, and observing the futility of legislation to check these abuses, cast about for an effectual means of influencing the proprietors. They found this means in an intelligent use of their patronage, and have in effect applied the much despised "boycott" in regulating the conditions under which such labor is employed.

The feature of the work of the Consumers' League is its "white list," a list of stores, the conditions in which conform to a standard adopted by the league after exhaustive investigation and consultation with both employers and employees.

The standard is :

#### STANDARD OF A FAIR HOUSE.

##### WAGES.

A Fair House is one in which equal pay is given for work of equal value, irrespective of sex. In the departments where women only are employed, in which the minimum wages are

six dollars per week for experienced adult workers, and fall in few instances below eight dollars.

In which wages are paid by the week.

In which fines, if imposed, are paid into a fund for the benefit of the employees.

In which the minimum wages of cash girls are two dollars per week, with the same conditions regarding weekly payments and fines.

#### HOURS.

A Fair House is one in which the hours from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. (with three-quarters of an hour for lunch) constitute the working day, and a general half-holiday is given on one day of each week during at least two summer months.

In which a vacation of not less than one week is given with pay during the summer season.

In which all overtime is compensated for.

#### PHYSICAL CONDITIONS.

A Fair House is one in which work, lunch, and retiring rooms are apart from each other, and conform in all respects to the present sanitary laws.

In which the present law regarding the providing of seats for saleswomen is observed, and the use of seats permitted.

#### OTHER CONDITIONS.

A Fair House is one in which humane and considerate behavior toward employees is the rule.

In which fidelity and length of service meet with the consideration which is their due.

In which no children under fourteen years of age are employed.

Of course the objects of the organization were at first misunderstood, and it met with some opposition from the general store managers, who feared that their business methods would be upset if they yielded to supervision by outsiders. In a short time, however, they came to realize that the work of the league was beneficial to their interests rather than hurtful, and now, with one or two exceptions, every general store in the country of any importance, is included in the "white list" published by the league.



It is interesting to note here that the only violators of the mercantile employment law, which was passed in 1896 as the result of agitation by societies of women and philanthropists to correct alleged abuses in the department stores, are the small shopkeepers; and, although it applies to them equally with the large stores, it is violated almost without exception by them, and that, too, every day in the week.

The growth of the general store has been little affected by legislation. Various attempts have been made by legislators and societies to secure the passage of laws restricting the scope of its activities, but none have been successful in New York. A few laws similar to the factory regulations were passed from time to time, and these were codified in the mercantile employment law of 1896. The chief feature of this law is that it regulates the hours of labor which may be exacted from women and minors, fixing the maximum at sixty hours a week, except for two weeks during the holiday season, when a little latitude is allowed; and prescribes the provision of seats for saleswomen, lunch-rooms, and proper sanitary facilities. This law was passed as the result of an agitation by certain societies interested in the work of women and children, and was approved by the merchants in the form in which it was passed, which entrusts the enforcement of the law to the local boards of health throughout the state. As originally presented, the enforcement of the law was given to the factory inspectors, but this evoked so much opposition that it was amended.

All of these regulations the merchants maintained, at the time of the passage of the law, were already in force in their stores; and the truth of this contention was shown by a report of a committee of the Central Labor Union, which investigated the conditions in the department stores during the agitation for the passage of the law. From the origin of this committee, it cannot be accused of being inclined to unduly favor great aggregations of capital such as are presented by the department stores. The investigation was undertaken at the request of a woman's society which described in ap-



palling terms the heartrending condition of the women and children in the stores. The committee visited all the large stores in Manhattan, and reported that the agitation was wholly unwarranted. The children, it reported, were fairly paid, and better cared for than many of them would have been in their homes. In many stores it found schools which the boys and girls attended for an hour or two each day. The work, the committee found, was light, and one committee-man declared that the sanitary appliances were far superior to those in any workingman's tenement.

On the whole, there seems to be little doubt that the community of the greater New York at large is benefited by the change from many small dealers to a few great ones. There is no doubt that the low prices at which goods are offered has stimulated buying, and thus benefited manufacturing. The manufacturer has to be contented with a smaller percentage of profit than formerly, but his increased output more than compensates him, and he provides employment for a greater number of men at better wages than ever before. An investigation in 1893 by the senate committee on finance, in connection with labor organization, and committees of merchants and chambers of commerce all over the country, showed that, while the cost of manufactured products had been steadily falling since 1865, the wages of labor had been as steadily increasing.

Complaint is made by many that the general store has stifled the art of selling. This is admitted by the New York general store manager. His salespersons do not urge the customer to buy, and dilate upon the beauties of his wares. They simply hand the customer what he or she wants, and make a record of the sale. It is not his desire, the merchant says, to sell the customer what he does not want, and, as proof of his good faith in this respect, he is always ready to accept the return of any article purchased within a reasonable time, and return the money paid for it, notwithstanding the fact that, in delivering the article, he may have incurred an expense greater than its value.

The one objection which I have not heard satisfactorily answered is, that in certain lines requiring expert knowledge in the salesperson the department store in New York has failed to give adequate service. Books, for instance, are a case in point. Almost every general store has added a book department within the last few years, and one of them has probably the largest and most complete bookstore in the country. Indeed the failure of one of the best-known booksellers in America, a short time ago, was attributed largely to the competition of this general store; but even in this store, the ignorance of their wares displayed by the salespersons is lamentable. The general store man answers that in these days of universal education the public knows what it wants, and a knowledge of the contents of books is not necessary to sell them by title. In spite of this, however, and in spite of the fact that the general store sells books for a third less than the bookseller did, the reading public will, I think, deplore the disappearance of the bookseller who knew and loved his wares.

Another line of goods requiring a special knowledge, where the general store in New York has signally failed, is bicycles. It is true that most of the New York stores today sell the cheaper grades of bicycles, but two of them which attempted the sale of high-grade machines last year made a complete failure of it. One admitted frankly that the general store could not sell high-grade bicycles in competition with the exclusive dealer, except at ruinously reduced prices; and the other, while still continuing the attempt, has lost thousands of dollars in one year's experiment. It is the opinion, however, of the department store men that even this drawback will be overcome before long. One of the best-informed men on retail selling in New York declares that he foresees the time when every department of retail trade would be concentrated under the roof of the general store.

"Manufacturing will not be affected," he says. "It will proceed on a comparatively small scale. From its nature, it requires the entire attention of the directing mind to conduct

it at a profit ; but I foresee between the manufacturer, even of the most artistic classes of goods, and the general store a union for the economical marketing of his products. The manufacturer will not lose his individuality, but where his name is a valuable trade-mark it will be retained, and the public will get the benefit of artistic production and expert distribution."

JOHN S. STEELE.

*New York City.*

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### III. LARGE STORES IN PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA was really the first American city to have a department store. It is asserted that New York had one some time before, but that store was not strictly a department one. The owners of the large Philadelphia general stores are averse to the term "department," as their definition of that word is a store in which the various departments are leased to men who have had a business of their own. Here all the departments are under one management, although there is a head for each, who in turn is responsible to the owners of the establishment.

The amount of money invested in six of the leading stores in this city can be stated only in the millions, and one house alone did a business last year of \$17,000,000, and always had from \$4,000,000 to \$5,000,000 worth of stock on hand. The business done by the other stores amounted to about \$19,000,000. So the six leading stores handled in 1898 over \$36,000,000. To do this large business required a large army of employees. In dull seasons the number is less, and the figures given out by the various heads of departments foot up to about 10,800 employees, while in the fall and during the holidays the number is swelled to about 16,000. All these are not strictly confined to the business section of

the store, as many are employed on the books, the delivery wagons, and in keeping the stores in order.

John Wanamaker was the founder of the general store in Philadelphia, and from a small beginning he now has here the greatest general store in the United States. He has another in New York, which, contrary to expectation, has been a success from the beginning. It is stated he will also soon have one of the largest stores in Boston. When he concentrated a number of departments under one roof there was raised a cry of monopoly, which extended throughout the city; and it was loudest in the sections which for years before controlled such lines of business as he took under his roof. Prior to this innovation it was almost impossible to secure more than one class of goods in one store, as each dealer kept only a certain line. Since the institution of the general store by Mr. Wanamaker, more have sprung up, and today the business section of the city has all that seems to be needed. They all seem prosperous, for each year additions are made, plants extended, and the business in every way increased.

One of the good results attained by the general stores is a distinct improvement in business methods. All goods are plainly marked with the price, and there is no deviation from it. Besides this, the owners of these stores cater to the people and facilitate matters for the buyer in every way. The system of exchange touches a weak spot in a woman; if a purchaser should determine to return the goods, or if they are not satisfactory, the money is readily returned. This system has done more to make the general stores a success than almost anything else. The idea was distinctly a Philadelphia one, although there is hardly a store in a city of prominence in the United States that does not now conduct its business on the same plan.

The department or general stores in Pennsylvania have thus far been free from legislative attention, but of late there has been considerable agitation in relation to them. At this writing there is a bill before the legislature, which, if passed,

will make the lot of an owner of a general store anything but enviable. It provides for a tax to be graded on the amount of business done, and when the gross amount rises above \$100,000, the tax rate increases. This bill has created considerable uneasiness as it affects all kinds of business, and a big fight is to be made against it by the leading merchants of the state. The general stores have here, as elsewhere, crushed out the small dealers. Prior to the advent of the general stores, certain sections of the city were known as shopping centers, and in each the class of goods sold was distinctive from all others. What was once known as a prosperous district has become almost a thing of the past, and a number of old-time merchants have retired, gone into liquidation, or been compelled to close their stores on account of the falling off in business and their inability to meet their obligations. These are the views taken by the small dealers. On the other hand, the managers of the general stores do not admit that they have had much effect on the small dealers, and they assert that there are more small stores on such streets as Second, South, Lancaster avenue, Columbia avenue, and in Germantown and Frankford than formerly, and declare that these seem to be about as prosperous as ever. But in regard to the classified stores in the heart of the city they do not show the increase they should, although to all outward appearances they do not show any sign of deterioration. The general opinion, however, is that the small stores feel the effect of the concentration of business. As before stated, the department stores are in the center of the city and it is easy for the shopper to go clean from one to the other. The public is benefited also in having larger stocks from which to select and in the lower prices made possible by this concentration.

While the vast army of employees are kept busy, their comfort is not lost sight of. During their luncheon they have a room set aside for their use, and some of the stores dispense hot coffee and tea free of charge to those in their employ. For them reading-rooms are maintained and benefit societies and savings funds. One of the large stores gives an annual

entertainment to its employees at the Academy of Music, and for it only the best talent is engaged. Salaries, as a rule, are small, but their average is as large as is paid in almost any other line. The errand and cash boys get from \$2.50 to \$4 a week, the latter sum being the maximum. The salespeople are divided into so many classes that it is almost impossible to estimate what they receive. A beginner starts in at from \$3 to \$6 a week, and as he becomes more experienced he is advanced. The average salesperson does not generally receive over \$10 a week, although some get as high as \$50. To secure \$25 a week the salesman or saleswoman must be of unusual ability in his or her line, and when such are found they are well taken care of. The buyers, or heads of departments, command good salaries, these ranging from \$2,000 to \$10,000 the year. In almost all cases these department heads are persons who at one time conducted businesses of their own, and were selected for their fitness in the department of which they have charge. All the stores are divided into departments, Wanamaker's having upwards of seventy, Gimbel's fifty-three, and the other stores in proportion.

Another feature of the Philadelphia general stores is the free delivery service. This is also something which the small stores did not provide to any great extent, but now the large stores deliver goods anywhere in the city, as well as to suburban points. Some of them deliver goods free within a radius of sixty miles. To do this they have a system of delivery wagons stationed at certain points, so as to keep the expense down as low as possible. It is estimated that it requires fully five hundred wagons to do this business, and it is safe to say that the department stores here have at least one thousand horses which they use in the transaction of their business.

Considerable business is done in Philadelphia through purchasing agents. These people have no direct connection with any house, and they are generally those who have friends in the country, for whom they do shopping. They do not confine their purchases to any one store, but patronize the ones



that are best suited to the wants of their customers. All the stores are anxious to secure the business of these agents, and on nearly all kinds of goods they allow them a discount of ten per cent. These agents collectively do a large business. Another feature for which the general stores of Philadelphia are noted, is the amount of advertising done by them. They are all believers in the use of printers' ink and use it generously and judiciously. Most have departments that attend to this work alone, and one of the Philadelphia stores pays its advertising manager a sum far in excess of that secured by many leading editors of this country. The latest development in this line is the purchase, by John Wanamaker, of *The North American*, said to be the oldest daily newspaper in the United States, to be distributed free of charge to "subscribers" and to be used as the advertising medium of his Philadelphia enterprise.

One advantage the department stores have in Philadelphia is their close proximity to the Pennsylvania railroad and Philadelphia and Reading railway companies' passenger stations. Both these railroads deposit their passengers within a few minutes' walk of the leading stores, and as these stores are greater than any country fair, they are generally the first place visited by strangers. Each of the six stores in Philadelphia pursues a distinct policy in the manner of conducting the business, but the result is an effort to get as nearly as possible to the country merchant's plan, except that instead of barter, cash is required. The stores have almost the same number of working hours for their employees, and they have what is known as an early and late week. Those that report one week at 7 in the morning go home at 5.30 in the evening, and those that come at 8.30 remain till 6. Each week there is a change made, so that no one has to remain until the store closes two weeks in succession. The department stores have done away with night work, and it is seldom that a salesperson has to remain after 6 o'clock in the evening. A few of the stores keep open until 10 o'clock for about two weeks before Christmas.

Holidays in the department stores are, as a rule, few and far between. The Fourth of July, Decoration day, and Christmas are the only days that are fully observed. During the summer months most of them close on Saturday at one o'clock, and each employee gets from one to two weeks' vacation, according to length of service.

SAMUEL R. KIRKPATRICK.

*Philadelphia.*

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#### ONE VIEW OF NATIONAL UNITY.

WHATEVER may be the outcome of current contentions, it seems clear that from now on we must rub against the other peoples of the earth. The nations are getting big and the world is getting small. The inevitable result is crowding and elbowing. What are the characteristics which best fit a nation to hold its own in such a case? The question must be considered anew from many sides. Only one of these sides will be noted here.

It would seem that in modern states a certain fluidity within is the best assurance of solidity in the outward aspect. The nation which presents an unbroken front to the rest of the world, from one century to another, is the one which best holds its several parts together; and it is not the strong hand and fixed decrees which will accomplish this end. The strong hand may be indispensable as a temporary resource. Established metes and bounds have their use. But these things are preparatory and provisional. The peoples are growing up, and cannot be controlled by the prescription and discipline which served for their childhood. A nation is no longer strong in its ability to preserve unchanged the relations of its various members one to another. It is strong in its capacity for unlimited internal readjustment of relations. Its ultimate interest does not lie in keeping apart the things that are separate. Classes, functions, forces in society: these

are not to be held each in its separate sphere. The more they collide and mingle and put themselves into new relations, and then change those for still other relations, the better it will be for the public health. The more unchangeable we are, the more we have to fear from revolution. The more freely we welcome changes, the more truly united we become. It was not simply good marksmanship, good seamanship, and good fighting which won in last year's war. It was quite as much the united people who were back of our soldiers and sailors. There are harder and longer conflicts ahead of us; and the things which make way for change and which therefore make for union among us are the things that will make for success when the pinch comes.

To be strong industrially, a people must continue to be industrially mobile and adaptable. Whatever tends to make permanent industrial classes among us is so far harmful. Capitalists who are forever and only capitalists, and employees who are forever and only employees, are a menace to our national well-being. An hereditary order of coal miners may threaten our peace and safety as much as an hereditary order of nobility.

To be strong politically, a nation must have a governmental system which makes adequate provision for its own reform and re-reform. Every secret discontent must find opportunity for utterance; and every voice that is raised must have a chance to be heard. Governmental machinery which hinders change till there is time for second thought is good; for the second thought is generally an improvement on the first. But machinery which hinders beyond that is bad; for the after-thought of those who are balked in an attempt to set abuses right, does not look to social unity. We have confidence that a federal system will, among an intelligent and widely scattered people, best accomplish these ends; for in such a system, the purpose which finds expression in the government of each part is incorporate in the larger purpose which finds expression in the government of the whole. But any system, regarded simply as fixed and final, is a dangerous thing.

These propositions have many corollaries, one of which has to do with public education. The forces which make for unity or for disunion are, at the heart of them, spiritual forces. Public education looks not only to the enrichment, but to the unification of the spiritual life of the people. Or let us say that the literature and the schools of a people work together to that end. How, then, is public education — the education of the schools and education by the printing-press — to do its best service in the making of a permanently united people?

The question suggests some interesting passages in the history of modern education. The nations of Europe through many centuries were dependent upon the church for the maintenance of anything that could be called, in the deeper sense, national unity. Divided as they were by distinctions of rank; isolated by natural barriers which modern means of communication had not yet overcome; they nevertheless met on common ground in the ministrations of religion. When national churches came into existence, after the Reformation, this consciousness of unity in religion was intensified; for the religion of one state was a denial of the religion of its neighbor, and served as a most inspiring battle cry in the event of war between the two. But when the spirit of protest went still further and introduced division between members of the same political body, the result was bewildering.

It was at this point and partly in consequence of this state of things, as it would seem, that modern school systems came into being. Uncertainly and only half-consciously, the nations of central Europe sought a new ground of spiritual unity in public education.

This is not the place to prophesy as to the outlook for a new religious unity. The churches are well aware of the task which is set for them to work out. But for generations yet, the maintenance of real spiritual unity in a great people such as ours, must be the combined work of the schools and the public press.

This agency of unification is suited to the spirit of the time. For free schools and a free press do not work toward

a fixed external order of things. They have no skill to impose metes and bounds upon society. Whether they will it or not, they foster the nobler sort of discontent. They arouse ambition. They increase the demand for continued readjustment of social relations and increase also the ability to make such readjustment.

Our American systems of public instruction, after all the adverse criticism which may be passed upon them, are fairly well fitted for their part in such a work. They are freely open to all; and each grade of school points up to higher grades, and so on to the highest. The child who enters a primary school in any part of this land, sees there the beckoning hand of the university. At the same time our periodical literature is scattered broadcast, carrying a knowledge of the ideas and the ideals of our great civilization-centers into the remotest corners of the land. There is every incitement here to think away from the partial views of one's immediate circle and to think toward the thoughts that the rest of the people are thinking.

It would seem impossible under our system that any exclusive intellectual aristocracy should grow up, set off from their fellows by formal barriers, and feeling only contempt for the common sense of the people. Yet that danger will undoubtedly appear. Nor is it to be avoided by compromising the interests of higher scholarship; for to do so would involve a loss which no modern nation can afford to risk. University scholarship must go higher, and at the same time the intellectual sympathy of university men must go lower. University settlements and university extension are important; but they will not accomplish their full work unless they be the expression of a deeply grounded university sentiment, which will find and make many other channels for its expression. Our noblest literature, too, will not in the long run be that which grows up in any sort of artificial isolation—the literature of the literati—but rather that which comes into vital contact with the life of the people.

But conflict, change, endless reform are not for themselves.

We may pronounce the praise of our turbulent life, in a land of free and rapid readjustments, only because we look beyond the turbulence to that which it signifies. It is well that old forms should be broken and cast aside, in order that we may get at the reality which lies back of these coverings; in order that the spiritual forces of our modern world may gain the mastery, and make and re-make with larger freedom the forms which they require.

So the more fluid condition of the foremost modern societies is simply our way of getting more nearly at the essence of things. And the nearer we get to essential realities, the more do we find that is to the interest, not of one nation only, but of all nations — the common interests of humanity. The unit of political science, and of political art as well, the sovereign state, has, after all, a little the appearance of a provisional arrangement marked off by provisional, not to say artificial, boundaries — a necessary conception in the science, which would melt into vague sentiment without it: and in practice a thing worth living and dying for — a fit object for all the devotion which patriotism can lavish upon it. Yet the definition of sovereignty is hard to frame, and absolute sovereignty is hard to maintain.

We may not be sanguine as to the immediate outcome of peace congresses, and may entertain doubts as to whether international law is really law at all. But we like to indulge now and then in the far-off look. At such a time it seems as if peace congresses and international law, and the daily intercourse of nations more than all, were pointing toward some sort of larger state, in which all peoples on the earth will be participants.

Can we not take both the far view and the near view? Conflict between the great nations will doubtless come. Each nation must have its share, too, of disturbance and conflict within. With anything like equality of resources, that nation may hope to fare best in the outward struggle which is most easily and most frequently reformed and reconstructed in consequence of internal disturbance. The nation which



most readily yields to the transforming process from within, is the nation which will approximate most rapidly to those ideas and sentiments which are not private or provincial or narrowly national in their character, but are of worth to all peoples and nations.

So it seems to come to this, that that nation will be strongest which has most of the federal spirit; and the same nation will in time make the greatest progress in the peaceful conquest of its neighbors, through the inherent force of its moral ideas. The furthering of some such process as this seems to be the high calling of public education in America.

ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN.

*University of California,  
Berkeley, Cal.*

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#### STATE CONTROL OF TRUSTS.

**A**MONG the great questions of the future, that involving the industrial trusts is possibly of first importance.

It affects in a large degree the future industrial life, not only of this country, but of the human race, forming, as it were, the leading symptom of the great malady of the present commercial age, and presaging the powerful influence it will exert upon the political, social, and religious development of mankind in the near future. Looking at this modern industrial leviathan from this standpoint, it is surprising how little is generally known of the real causes of the trusts and their far-reaching tendencies upon modern civilization. Not until there exists a deeper public insight into the true causes of the trusts and the cosmic forces which create and maintain them, can we hope to have a correct understanding concerning them; nor will it until then be possible to legislate intelligently with reference to their effect upon the body politic.

The trusts are the natural outgrowth of economic condi-

tions, and can no more be suppressed by penal enactment than can the tides of the sea. The evolutionary principles — the struggle for existence and that of coöperation or association — are the cosmic germs from which springs the industrial trust of today. The closing century has been one in which individualism based upon the principle of the struggle for existence has found its widest scope. The doctrine of free contract and the right to sell for the highest price and to buy for the cheapest, while it has been a powerful incentive to individual development and general progress, has pushed the principle of competition to the farthest limit in industrial enterprise and has forced the second cosmic force, that of association and coöperation under the concrete form of collectivism, into sharp and active antagonism with the first, and is about to throw these otherwise correlative natural forces out of poise.

Scientists inform us that among animals and primitive man, whenever there exists among the herd or tribe a member which, by reason of its physical strength and prowess, acquired chiefly in conflicts with other herds and tribes, has grown so strong and powerful as to threaten the welfare, or possibly the existence of the aggregate herd or tribe, the instinct of association among these herds or tribes, will turn on the dangerous individual member and either expel or destroy him. This cosmic principle asserts itself with similar force in modern industrial life. Individual effort of the great "captains of industry" is about to threaten society, by forcing it to submit to the control of the industrial trust, and society is about to rise in its might to destroy the trust. But when the question arises of how it will destroy it, then the comparison or parallel of the natural phenomenon with the industrial one disappears. This is only apparently so, however, and differs only in the means to be employed. The animal herd or the primitive human tribe resorts to physical force, to destroy or expel the recalcitrant member. Society, however, would resort to peaceful means and set about removing the causes which create and further the growth of trusts, under the en-

lightened methods of science and the principles of justice. Nor should society make the mistake of going to the other extreme and step to the full length of the cosmic principle of association or coöperation, popularly known as collectivism or socialism in their radical forms, as this means retrogression, if not destruction. The sooner the public mind learns that individualism and collectivism are correlative forces based respectively upon the natural laws of the struggle for existence and that of coöperation, and must, as nearly as possible, remain in equipoise, in order to produce normal evolution or progress, the sooner will a correct solution of the trust question be found. This great lesson needs to be fully learned before mankind can hope to escape the mistake of the past in the solution of this problem. The trouble with past ages has been that society has drifted too far in one direction — either entirely to individualism or entirely to socialism. At one period there was a strong pressure for communism and at another a loud cry for the greatest personal freedom, and so the industrial world has toiled on from century to century flying from one extreme to the other, as a steel film between two magnetic poles.

Now let us see how these two great cosmic forces have contrived to bring about present industrial conditions. In the first place the financial schemes of the past have been chiefly in the interest of the individual who controlled money and could thereby affect the price of commodities by controlling the volume of money. Money was for ages coined on private account, and when the government made it a public concern and coined it by public mint, it finally again drifted back into the power of individuals to control its coinage and then its volume, by abolishing the bimetallic standard and resorting to the single gold standard. This in turn produced a contraction of the volume of money and a general and continuous fall of prices of all commodities, and forced individual enterprise out of the hands of the many into the hands of the few. In the meantime, invention under the stimulus of individual prestige grew apace, and labor-saving machinery, while

it took the drudgery from the laborer, yet forced him to abandon his private shop and place himself under cover of the "captains of industry" in the factory. Thus the coöperation which grew up among the thousands and hundreds of thousands of different craftsmen the world over was gradually compressed under the head of the various great factories, and is now concentrating in fewer and still fewer managements — commonly called trusts. Thus the competitive principle based on the cosmic force of the struggle for existence, has financially made competition impossible, and collectivism is challenged to attack this industrial enigma and to again restore competition. Thus are we brought face to face with the anomaly of the present industrial situation. In this wise the principle of individualism has had its effect in producing the trust. How has association — or coöperation, or collectivism, all used here as similar terms and based upon the cosmic force of coöperation — had its effect in creating the trust? To find its social beginning we must go back to the statute of mortmain, since developed into the modern industrial corporation. It was found in the rapid growth of industrial enterprises that the individual could not so readily accomplish alone what an aggregate company of individuals could perform collectively by their joint means and skill, and so we soon see the old business partnership and voluntary business association, drifting under cover of the written business charter direct from the government. Not only is individual means and skill augmented by association, but individual risk is diminished, and the business enterprise practically perpetuated and monopolized. Under the charter of a private corporation are conducted not only nearly all the great factories of the present day, but also the great transportation systems on land and sea. These found their beginnings in the private caravan and the single sailboat, but have grown into great trans-continental railways and the fleets of international steamship lines, and are fast being brought under the control of a few great systems, which may pool their rates at pleasure, and which usually place them as high as the busi-

ness will permit and yet not operate prohibitively.\* The original corporation existed in the number of individuals who composed it. The latest type of the corporation is an aggregate of many smaller corporations, and stands for all in trust; so that today the monopoly of the business in each certain line, whether it be railroads, telegraphs, telephones, oil wells, coal fields, tanneries, cotton and woollen mills, shoe factories, department stores, or peanut stands, is complete and undisputed.

Having thus acquainted ourselves with the causes which create and maintain trusts, let us now consider their effect upon civilization. First of all we have the effects of the money trust, with its growing tendency to contract the volume of primary money, and the consequent fall of prices of all commodities; the burden of public and private debt increasing as products fall in price; the growing difficulty of the producer to either sell at remunerative prices, or to earn money to pay interest and taxes and buy necessities, let alone paying past indebtedness; a constantly rising monetary standard on the one side and a constantly falling market on the other; the enrichment of the money-holding class and the impoverishment of the producing class, and likewise the enrichment of the creditor class and the impoverishment of the debtor class; the paralysis of enterprise and labor; the pauperization and industrial enslavement of the masses, and the undue enrichment of the classes; in a word, industrial stagnation. Second, we encounter the effects of the transportation trusts, which are chiefly of the nature of discrimination — building up certain enterprises, municipalities, communities, states, and entire sections, at the expense of others; the bane of the long and short haul, which builds up enterprise at the beginning and end of the long haul, and destroys it at all intermediate points, and makes the transportation business profitable, only by placing the high rates on the short haul

\*The truth of this statement is not materially affected by the decision of the Supreme Court against pooling since the article was written. Outwardly the law is obeyed and the Joint Traffic Association dissolved, but the law in this, as in other instances of attempted restriction of railroad combinations and other trusts, is notoriously evaded by private agreement. — Editor, The Arena.

and so-called local traffic. This accounts for the success of the great oil, coal, and iron trusts and smaller trusts of manufacturing and commercial enterprises. Then comes the secret of pooling of rates among a few great trunk lines to the detriment of weaker lines. Last, but not least, we find absolute dependence of the producer upon the railways to haul his freight at any price, no matter whether reasonable or unreasonable.

Now we come to the manufacturing trusts, which, on account of low prices, press constantly upon the wages of the laborer, make him more and more dependent upon his employer, force him to cut the wages of his fellow laborer in spite of trades unions and labor federations, and which constantly adds to the army of the unemployed. Then there are the telegraph and telephone trusts, which control the transmission of all intelligence, charge high rates, and inveigh against improved and cheaper inventions and methods in the service. There is no lack of commercial trusts of all descriptions, from that which builds an armed steel cruiser down to a match box combine; trusts which monopolize the whole field of industrial enterprise and which produce and sell everything we use, eat, drink, and wear, at such prices as the particular enterprise will bear. It is contended by certain people that trusts have a tendency to cheapen and improve commodities. This is an egregious mistake. The tendency of monopoly was never to act upon motives of charity or benevolence, but wholly on selfish principle, and if some things are cheaper now than formerly, it is because they cannot be sold for more. Neither is it true that the cost of production has been materially diminished. It is true that some waste is prevented in large establishments which necessarily takes place in smaller ones, yet the risks of capital have increased and much waste occurs in the process of concentration, in the way of buying up old and dilapidated plants and preventing the establishment of new ones. The depressing effect upon all agricultural products is especially noticeable, and must continue as labor is deprived of steady employment and liberal



wages, and as the smaller capitalist is crowded to the wall by the larger one — the trust. Not only are the effects of the trusts felt industrially, but politically as well. It can no longer be denied that they exert a powerful influence upon all municipal, state, and national legislation, as well as upon the machinery and administration of the laws in the courts of the country. The popular charges that these great aggregations of capital sometimes warp the proceedings of legislative assemblies and the decisions of courts — and even popular elections — have ceased to be the baseless vaporings of demagogues. It is but too true that often they must be justified. They have risen to the dignity of public danger signals, which every sincere reformer will do well to heed in time.

It is perfectly evident that the present process of concentration, if permitted to continue, must eventuate in either private or state socialism, either of which would lead to disaster. Private socialism would so restrict production, as to compel the consumer to pay the highest price for commodities, with a constantly diminishing stock of means on his part, and make him absolutely dependent on the whims and caprices of the monopolist, whose industrial slave he would thus become in the full sense of the word. State socialism, in its radical sense, would possess itself of all means of production and distribution, and thus destroy all private property and the incentive to individual exertion. It would tend to degrade the worker to the same level with the drone. Its attempt at equality would extinguish all higher endeavor, and, after a few generations of failure, place society at the foot of the ladder of progress, to again begin its toilsome ascent by the way of the immutable laws of evolution. Thus we have a silent but certain, if not speedy, transformation of the entire industrial system going on, which, while perfectly quiet in its operation, is nevertheless revolutionizing our industrial life, as well as our civic institutions.

What is the remedy?

Penal repression? No! This must fail in the future as it has in the past. Not only have many states a penal statute

against trusts, but there is a federal law as well, and yet the trusts increase rapidly every year. Free trade? Trusts thrive in free-trade England as well as they do in America. The true reformer must resort to means of relief which go to the very core of the evil and which are remedial rather than penal or drastic in their nature. That government is forced to extend its activities in many directions, which, under the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, were believed to be entirely within the province of private effort, can no longer be denied by all who place the welfare of the masses above the enrichment of the classes, and who would prevent the growth of the cormorant on the one hand, and the proletariat on the other. It must also be borne in mind that the trusts are not the only product of the great social evolution that has been progressing since the abolition of feudalism. The social mind and the social conscience are the two powerful factors that the modern age of industrialism has evolved, and placed in opposition to commercialism. They are forces that must now be reckoned with in a proper solution of the great industrial problem.

Man has come to know society as a great living organism, conscious to think and act through the social mind and conscience, for the protection and welfare of its individual members, with the interests of the individual and society reciprocal and identical and harmonious. He has come to know that the struggle for existence has thus reached its secondary stage and, shorn of its former brutal character, has assumed the more human and softening aspect of the conflict of mind over matter, of justice over brute force. But the question at last becomes a practical one, and resolves itself into an inquiry of fact rather than of doctrine. The two great cosmic forces which we placed at the foundation of the manifestations of present industrial conditions will continue to alternate in application as they are set free to do so by economic forces, and there is no danger that their equilibrium will be destroyed as long as they are thus liberated.

If, under normal economic conditions, government should

either by control or ownership, do that which it can perform better and cheaper for society, than can the individual, then there is no reason why it should not do so. But government should never interfere where public enterprise is not a public necessity, and does not concern the general welfare. Here the old rule of "so use thine own as not to injure thy neighbor" will always remain the correct doctrine, and the one best calculated to develop the individual as well as society. But the fact is that government has gone too far in its restraint of the masses and its undue favoritism of the classes, instead of standing for the protection of the masses against the onslaught of the classes under legal enactments and private franchises and privileges. This is not only so in the case of unequal tariffs and taxes, but is especially so in that legislation of this country and Europe, within the past twenty-five years, which affects the monetary system of this country as well as that of Europe. What is wanted above everything else, is that government should so legislate as to offer an equal opportunity to every individual to earn according to his capacity. This the trust will not permit him to do under present conditions. If, however, the economic forces were set free which produce and maintain bimetalism, the money trust would cease to exist, inasmuch as the standard of value would cease enhancing in value as commodities fall in value, but would attain an approximately stable value, and therefore insure a rising market and, finally, stability of prices—both conditions fatal to the existence of the trust. The industrial trust can only thrive on a falling market, and falls to pieces by the sharp attack of competition which a rising market inevitably superinduces. This again would force money into legitimate enterprise and also furnish employment to labor, and break up the present commercial congestion. Of course, the good effects of the institution of bimetalism should be at once reinforced by the thorough regulation of all transportation,—state and interstate, by rail or water,—and should be brought under immediate and active public control. As long as the federal government cannot fix freight and passenger rates,

classify freights, compel interstate connections and public accounting of the transportation lines, it were idle to talk about equal business opportunities or prosperity for our producing masses. Add to this municipal control, or ownership where expedient, of water-works, lighting plants, street railways, etc.; and let the general and the state governments fix the rates also of telegraph and telephone companies, as well as curb and restrict the power and the operation of all corporations, and encourage individual enterprise; and, last but not least, impose an effective income tax, and you would have set to work agencies which would not only remove the causes of the trusts, but the trusts themselves, and restore prosperity by restoring the equilibrium of the two great cosmic forces, by the derangement of which trusts are created and maintained.

Such remedies might not prove entirely adequate to establish industrial freedom, but they would at least prove a long step in the right direction, and would naturally tend to a correct solution of the great industrial problem which, with the false idea of imperialism, threatens to engulf this nation in endless confusion, if not permanent disaster. The idea of imperialism is inspired principally by the great trusts whose interest would prompt them to divert public attention from their rapid growth and power and direct it to international policies which carry in their schemes large armies and navies and the exploitation of tropical islands under the tempting shibboleths of "who-will-haul-down-the-flag," commercial expansion, patriotism, and humanity. Let us beware of "the Greeks bearing gifts." Imperialism is but the cry of the trust for more worlds to conquer. My outline of remedial agencies is a far cry in "practical politics," not an excursion in social theorizing.

RUDOLPH KLEBERG.

*Cuero, Texas.*

## AN UNDERTONE.

WHEN echoes of the toil of day  
In midnight hours affrighten sleep,  
Uprises tensive in my soul  
An undertone of sadness deep.

Its mystic sob and moan are like  
Some far, unresting midnight sea ;  
It bears to me the old, sad notes  
Of human life and destiny.

It gathers volume with the hours  
And swallows selfish thoughts and cares —  
Within me surge a race's woes,  
A race through me breathes forth its prayers.

No power have I for prayers like these,  
Nor healing for the complaints upborne,  
While through the halting hours I wait  
The dawn of hope and gleam of morn.

But with the wake of day soft speak  
Melodic voices from the skies,  
Assuring me that in God's heart  
There waits some infinite surprise

To light the common life with truth,  
From which, in panic hosts, shall flee  
The tyrant fears and evil faiths  
That keep the world from liberty.

The solvent of our problems old  
The heavens shall not fore'er conceal ;  
The ancient mystery of man  
Will God's unfolding thought reveal.

From travail in the soul of God  
Was man to faith and struggle born ;  
From travail in the soul of man  
Love goes to greet the strifeless morn.

GEORGE D. HERRON.

## DELEND A EST CARTHAGO.\*

I CANNOT dissimulate the feelings of disgust, of indignation, even of despair, which that letter (the Czar's peace proposal) has wrought in me. Those Christians, good, sensible, and enlightened, who consider murder a frightful crime, none of whom, with rare exceptions, would harm an animal, are, however, the same men who, when murder and crime are called war, not only recognize destruction, pillage, and assassination as just and lawful, but contribute to those thefts and massacres, prepare themselves for it, participate and glory in it. However, always and everywhere, it is undeniable that the immense mass of those who practice this pillage and murder, and undergo all the consequences of it, does not ask for war, does not seek nor desire it, that it takes part in it only against its will, because some man has placed it in such a position that it seems to it that its sufferings would be greater if it refused to participate in it. Thus it is that those who excite to pillage, who prepare massacre, and oblige the working people to give themselves to it, are but a notorious minority, who live in pleasure, luxury, and idleness on the labor of working men.

This vast deception, which prolongs and accentuates itself from century to century, has in our day reached its extreme development. The most important part of the products of the working man's labor is taken away from him, goes to naught in the incessant and always increasing preparations for pillage and slaughter. And not only is the workman frustrated in his work, but he himself, in all European countries, must go in person and take part in the butcheries. Incidentally international relations are more and more complicated. Incessantly peaceful country places and cities are ravaged and ransacked without reason. Every year

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\* Translated for The Arena from "L'Humanité Nouvelle."



in one corner or another of the world, massacre and pillage install themselves as masters. We live in perpetual fear of brigandage and murder. The existence of this sad state of things is due to the fact that the great mass is deceived by a minority to which this duplicity and deception offers immense advantages. It would seem the first task to be discharged by those who would like to rid the people of these mutual assassinations and thefts, would be to reveal to the masses the trickery which holds them in subjection, to show to them how it is perpetrated, by what means it is maintained, and how we shall succeed in abolishing it. The enlightened men of Europe, however, have done nothing of the kind; but under the pretext of pursuing the coming of peace, they assemble sometimes in one, sometimes in another city of Europe, and sitting around a table with as grave an air as possible, they deliberate upon the question as to what will be the best way of persuading the brigands who live from pillage to abandon theft and become peaceful citizens. Then they lay deep questions before one another. In the first place, they ask one another if war is not justified, in law, history, and progress, as if any fictions established by them could require of us that we deviate from the fundamental law of life. In the second place, they ask again what are the consequences of war, as if it were not indisputable and uncontested that they are misery and corruption. Finally, they apply themselves to resolving the problem of war, as if there were a problem in liberating a deceived people from the fraud which they see clearly!

Really, it is monstrous! We see how sane, peaceful, and often happy people go every year to some such gambling hell as Monte Carlo, leaving to the profit of the owners of these places their health, their tranquillity, their honor, and often their lives. We pity them; we know that the illusion which impels them consists in the inequality of chances and in the augmentation of the number of players, who, although certain of losing in the end, hope nevertheless, once at least, to see fortune smile. All that is evident. And then, with

the aim of delivering humanity from that vice, instead of revealing to the players the temptations by which they let themselves be enticed, the undeniable fact that they are sure of losing, and the immorality of games based upon the expectancy of the ill-luck of others, we assemble gravely in congress and deliberate, and inquire how the holders of the gambling-houses may be led with one accord to close their establishments. We write books on the subject, and we ask ourselves if history, law, and progress do not verily demand the existence of gambling-houses, and what are the consequences economical, intellectual, and moral, with other questions of the same sort.

If a man is addicted to liquor, and I tell him that he can rid himself of his intemperance through his own efforts, if I indicate to him how he must act in order to succeed, there is hope that he may listen to me; but if I tell him that his intemperance is a complicated and difficult problem that we men of science are trying to resolve in our conferences, well, very likely he will continue to drink while waiting for the solution of the problem to be discovered. Thus it is by false, "civilized," and scientific ways we seek to abolish war through arbitration, international tribunals, and other absurdities, and neglect the most evident and the most simple method. Granting that the people who do not wish for war ought not to fight, to abolish warfare it is not necessary to establish either international understanding, or arbitration, or international tribunals, but simply to emancipate the people from the trickery and deceit which enslaves them. The only way to end war is for those who do not wish it and who consider it a sin to participate in it, *to lay down their arms and refuse to fight*. This course was indicated in the first centuries of our era by several christian writers, such as Tertullian and Origen, as well as by the disciples of St. Paul and their successors, and by the Mennonites and the Quakers. The sin, the untoward consequences, and the absurdity of the military service were depicted and established in all their phases by Dymond and by Harrison, and twenty years ago

by Ballou, as well as by myself. The course of which I speak has been adopted recently by isolated individuals in Austria, in Prussia, in Holland, in Switzerland, and in Russia, as well as by some entire groups, such as the Quakers, the Mennonites, and the Nazarenes; and but yesterday by the Doukhoborts who, to the number of 15,000, have been resisting for three years the Russian governmental power, and, in spite of the sufferings and vexations to which they are exposed, refuse to submit themselves to the obligation which we wish to compel them in taking part in the crimes of the military service.

But the enlightened friends of peace not only refuse to recommend this method, but do not even mention it, and when we submit it to them, they pretend not to care anything about it, or, if they consider it, they gravely shrug their shoulders and express all their sympathy for these uneducated and unreasonable men, who adopt a method so ineffective, so foolish, when there exists one excellent method, one alone among all methods: to put salt on a bird's tail when one wishes to capture it; that is to say, to persuade governments which exist only by violence and lies to abandon both.

They tell us that the misunderstandings which may arise between governments will be settled by certain tribunals or by arbitration. But the governments do not in the least wish the solution of their misunderstandings. On the contrary, if none produce themselves, they invent them; for it is only through these misunderstandings with each other that they find pretext to maintain those armies upon which depend their power.

It is thus that these pretended friends of peace strive to divert the attention of the oppressed and working masses from the only method which can deliver them from the slavery to which they are subjected from infancy by patriotism, by the obligation of the oath, — with the aid of mercenary priests from our perverted Christianity, — and finally by the fear of punishment.

In our day, when intimate and pacific relations have been

established between the people of different nationalities and different governments, the fraud called patriotism — which always proclaims the preëminence of one state or nationality over all others, and which always invites men to unnecessary and pernicious wars — the fraud called patriotism appears already too truly under its veritable aspect to reasonable men of our time to have further enslaved them; and the faith in the religious deception of the obligation of the oath — which is formally forbidden by this bible which the governments invoke — is, God be praised, less and less profound. So that the real and unique obstacle to the refusal of military service consists only, for the greatest majority of men, in the fear of punishments which are inflicted by the governments when such refusals are made. This fear, however, is once more the result of the governmental duplicity, and has no other basis than actual hypnotism.

The governments fear, and ought to fear, those who refuse to serve. They are afraid of them, because each refusal diminishes the prestige of the deception through which they hold the people under their domination. But those who refuse have no reason to fear a government which asks of them crimes. In refusing military service, a man faces fewer risks than if he submit to it. The refusal to do military service, and the punishment, imprisonment in exile, which is the consequence, often constitute advantageous assurance against the dangers of the service. In accepting it, he may have to participate in a war for which he has been long prepared, and during the war, like a man condemned to death, he is in the situation of one who, unless a concurrence of improbable beneficent circumstances occurs, will certainly be killed or lamed. I have seen at Sebastopol a regiment which came to occupy a fort where two regiments had already been destroyed, and which remained there until, in its turn, it had also been entirely exterminated. Another danger profitably escaped is that of the deadly diseases developed by the anti-hygienic conditions which military service involves. Still another thing, is to escape the consequences of an impatient move, of too

quick a reply to which one might let himself be urged by the brutality of superiors, and which would bring forth chastisements more severe than those which would be inflicted in case of refusal to perform military service. But the greatest advantage of this refusal is that, whereas the military service compels a man to pass three or four years of his life in a vicious society, practising the art of killing, being in the same captivity as if in prison, but having, in addition, to dance attendance in a humiliating and depraved submission, the refusal entails only imprisonment or exile. This is true in nearly every case.

In the second place in refusing military service, one, strange as it may seem, may frequently rely on escaping chastisement, his refusal operating to bring about the revelation of the governmental trickery; revelation which, in a short time, would make impossible any and all punishment for such an act. The repetition of similar acts cannot leave men stupid enough to contribute to the punishment of those who refuse to participate in their oppression. The submission to the military conscription is evidently but a cowardly submission of the masses; the slightest act of independence in that herd of Panurge will bring the destruction of military domination.

Outside these considerations, all of personal advantage, there is another reason which ought to encourage, in refusing military service, every man of independent character who is conscious of the importance of his acts. Every man must hope his life will not be without an aim, but will be useful to God and to man; and often a man passes through life without meeting his opportunity. It is precisely that looked for opportunity which offers itself to us. In not accepting military service and in refusing the payment of taxes to a government which makes use of them for military purposes, each by this refusal can render a very great service to God and to man. For he makes use of the most efficacious means to direct the progress of human kind towards that better social order for which it is struggling, and which it must some day

reach. It is not only right to refuse to bend the knee to military duty; we ought to refuse. Were we freed from the hypnotism which subjugates us, it were impossible not to refuse!

Certain actions are morally impossible to some men, as are certain physical acts to other men. The vow of passive obedience to some immoral beings who have averred and admitted murder as an aim, is precisely one of those actions morally impossible to most men were they freed from hypnotism. Consequently, it is not only right and obligatory for all men to refuse themselves to military service, but it is not possible for them rationally to act otherwise.

"But what will happen if everyone refuses himself to military service? We will be without means to repress the wicked, and without protection from the barbarous races — against the yellow race — which will invade our country and conquer us."

I shall say nothing of the fact that the wicked have triumphed for a long time, that they still triumph and that, although striving against one another, they have dominated christianity for a long time; so then, there is nothing to fear about what has always been. Nor shall I say anything about the scarecrow of the yellow race which we constantly invoke. European officers, indeed, educate these people in the profession of arms. It is but a childish excuse for the maintenance of war establishments, for the hundredth part of the armies now actually standing in Europe would suffice to keep China in check. I do not wish to say anything on these points, because the consideration of the general result to the world of this or that one of our actions cannot guide us in our individual consideration of the question as a whole.

To every man is given a superior and infallible guide — his conscience. In following it he appreciates what he himself does, knows what he ought to do. All considerations of the dangers that threaten the man who refuses military service, as well as the fear of the consequences to the world if it likewise refuse — these are but a particle of the immense



and monstrous trickery in which christian people are engaged and which is carefully maintained by their governments. When a man acts according to what his reason prescribes, obeying his conscience and his God, there can be for his actions none but excellent results, for him as for the world.

One groans over the sad conditions of the people's life in the civilized world. But it is possible to modify them. We have only to obey the fundamental law proclaimed thousands of years ago: "Thou shalt not kill." Likewise is it with the laws of love and of human fraternity. And yet, what do we see? Every European denies this divine law, but upon the order of a president, of an emperor, of a minister, of Nicholas or of William, he dresses himself ridiculously, seizes a slaughtering instrument and cries out: "Here I am, ready to outrage, ruin, or kill whomsoever shall be pointed out to me!"

What can a society composed of such men be? Such a society cannot but be frightful; and so it is!

Awaken, brothers! Do not listen either to those scoundrels who from childhood harass you with the devilish spirit of "patriotism," an enemy to truth and uprightness and which serves only to take away your property, your liberty, and your dignity; listen not to those impostors who preach war in the name of a cruel and revengeful God which they have invented out of a perverted and false christianism; and still less listen to those modern Sadducees who, having for their real aim only the maintenance of things in their present state, assemble in the name of science and civilization, and write books and give lectures promising to give the people a happy and peaceful life without any effort! Do not believe them. Believe only in conscience which tells you you are neither beasts of burden nor slaves, but free men responsible for your acts, and consequently incapable of becoming murderers, whether of your own free will, or upon order of those who live only by murder. You must wake, for you yourselves must give an account of all the horrors and insanities of which you have been guilty. That done, you will put an end to this disease which you abhor and which is ruining you.

If you succeed, all these impostors who after having corrupted you oppress you, will vanish like owls before the light of day. Then will be realized this new human and fraternal life towards which christianity aspires, dulled with sufferings, exhausted by lies, and lost in insoluble contradictions. Let each one fulfill, without confused and adulterated argument, that which each day his conscience commands him, and he will recognize the truth of the gospel: "If any one wish to do God's will, he will recognize whether my doctrine comes from God or whether I speak of my own accord." \*

LEO TOLSTOY.

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### LIFE.

WHETHER as bidden guests, or wayfarers  
 Who stood some idle morning at the gate  
 Of life's fair house; and from its corridors  
 Heard issue forth the cries of those who sate  
 Forgathered at its board:— loud love and hate,  
 The cheers of slaves, and groans of emperors,  
 And over all the voice of choristers  
 In song throes praising their novitiate,

Till loitering in, grown fain to understand,  
 We bade pale Fate, the unanointed priest,  
 Bear us a cup,— and drew the first, deep draught,—  
 Whether as such,— by choice or by command  
 We sit amid the madness of the feast,  
 Ah! who may say till the full cup is quaffed?

THOMAS D. BOLGER.

*Philadelphia.*

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\* St. John, vii., 17.

## THE DYNAMICS OF SILENCE.

TO comprehend the unity of the universe it is but necessary to understand its constituent elements. In our commonplace experience we are so conscious of resistance—of contact—with an exterior world, that it impresses us as a massive conglomeration of solid, impervious substance. We find it difficult to conceive of aught within which is distinguishable, but not separated from it. I think, however, it requires but a casual analysis of the known universe to enable us to realize that what we have been wont to regard as objective, visible, impervious matter is easily resolvable into subjective, invisible, impalpable substance. The poet was not far from the truth when he sang that we are "such stuff as dreams are made on"; nor was his fancy unscientific when he reminded us that "like the baseless fabric of a vision"

the great globe itself,  
Yea, all which it inherit shall dissolve,  
And like this insubstantial pageant, faded,  
Leave not a rack behind.

For not only we, but all things, are "spirits" and "melt into air, into thin air."

Fully to appreciate this truth one need but stand alone and contemplate the universe—the revolving worlds and constellations on high as well as this swinging globe on which we dwell. What holds them in their places or sustains them in their courses? Can we realize that they are but swaying chandeliers of light, swinging backward and forward in the hollow of immeasurable space? We cannot certainly discern any visible power that guides them in their flights. The sun, pouring out from his molten bosom the quenchless fires of day, has not "where to lay his head." Between those myriad constellations, forever swinging in the

bluey deep, there suspends no visible cable that supports them —no manifest framework on which they rest securely. And yet they never vary the fraction of an inch from their established courses. Some power there must be that holds them, more effective than aught the human senses can discover. What is it?

This force we cannot understand until we reduce nature to its last conceivable analysis. When thus analyzed, the universe becomes but a vast congeries of vibrations. All forms and strata of matter,—every visible or sensible object,—every substance however massive or however impalpable,—all physical manifestations,—are but the expression of rhythmical vibrations, whose movements constitute the basis of phenomenal existence.

This statement, at first apparently unscientific, is incontrovertibly true. So long as we retain the notion of the stability of the visible universe we can never realize the truth just stated. The ancients conceived the skies as solid, in which were fixed the ever shining stars which moved all together as a panorama on a rolling canvas. But what says modern science? "It is a singular fact," says Flammarion, one of the world's greatest astronomers, "unknown to the ancient philosophers, fantastic and hardly conceivable even now to the thoughtful mind which seeks to comprehend it in its importance, that these suns of infinity, far from being fixed as they appear to be on account of their immense distance, are rushing through space with an inconceivable swiftness"; one star alone flies "through the immensity of space at the daily rate of thirty millions of kilometers (nearly nineteen millions of miles). But it is found that these velocities are the very conditions of the stability of the universe; the stars, the earth, planets, worlds, suns, stellar systems, star clusters, milky ways, distant universes, all sustain themselves by the mutual equilibrium of their reciprocal attraction; they are all placed *upon the void*, and maintain themselves in their ideal orbits, as they revolve with sufficient swiftness to create a centrifugal force equal and contrary to the attraction that draws

them, in such wise that they remain in unstable but perpetual equilibrium."

The human eye alone, by the aid of the telescope, can discern fifty millions of these stars. But there are still other incomputable and undiscoverable myriads that forever swing through the nebulous paths of milky ways, whose forms we cannot even outline; nay, whose beams, though traveling one hundred and eighty thousand miles per second for countless ages, have not yet impinged upon the human eye. With this thought in mind the picture of the organic universe is that of innumerable chandeliers of splendor swinging, swinging, like ceaselessly oscillating pendulums, through the vast void of space.

Once a great philosopher sitting beneath the dome of the cathedral at Pisa, saw a miniature semblance of this vast panorama. He saw what thousands of unthinking souls before had beheld without penetrating its suggestive meaning. He beheld the great chandelier, suspended from the lofty ceiling, slowly swaying backward and forward, without cessation, and without any apparent power to impel it. He saw that its oscillations always covered the same path. Galileo, beholding this phenomenon, discerned the secret of the universe. He discovered that the movement of a pendulum is isochronous; that is, that the time in which the to and fro movement is executed is always the same for the same pendulum. This simple law establishes the basis of all natural phenomena. "If we give to a pendulum, at rest, a slight impulse, or a strong impulse, the oscillation will be respectively small or large,—but for the same pendulum the duration of the oscillation will always be the same." \*

Thus we see that the entire organic universe consists of correlated parts, alternately oscillating toward and from each other. This even balance and rhythmic vibration is all that sustains the infinite spheres in their march through the fathomless void. But the vibratory phase of nature's phenomena is still more comprehensive. The same law that maintains

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\* Blaserna, "The Theory of Sound," Humboldt ed., No. 1, p. 670.

the organic unity of the visible and invisible universe (by which I mean the world of astronomic spheres), holds also the minutest atom of matter in its proper place. For every slightest particle in the vast aggregation is an infinitesimal pendulum ceaselessly swaying through its fixed periods of oscillation. Between the infinite particles of all substances there are interstices which are infinitely larger than any of the particles between which they lie. There is, therefore, no such thing as absolute solidity in nature. Substances which are denominated as solid are, in point of fact, only comparatively so. The fact that so-called solids may be compressed and expanded, proves that between the constituent particles there must be room sufficient for the compression, and that when the solid is expanded, while it does not lose its appearance of solidity, nevertheless the spaces between the constituent parts must have been widened. But the further fact that all known substances may be physically and chemically reduced to their atomic bases, through infinite processes of division and subdivision, proves that they are all but apparently, and not substantially, solid. A so-called substance is merely an aggregation of evenly balanced particles, which maintain a mutually rhythmical vibration, and remains a solid only so long as such vibrations can be maintained. So soon as the vibrations vary, that is, as the lengths or breadths of the oscillations are altered, the substance will become more or less solid, that is denser or rarer ; by which we mean that the spaces in which the minute pendulums swing will be narrower or broader.

Nothing in nature is ever in a state of rest—all is motion, activity, flux. Matter, then, as we shall see, is but a phase of motion. The interstices between its constituent particles may be so expanded as to reduce it into impalpability and invisibility. In this last analysis, all that is left of matter is motion, which is transmuted from visible activity into invisible force.

Once more, when we have reduced the appreciable forces in nature to their last analyses we shall arrive at the same



conclusion, namely, that they are all but variable phases of motion. One of these silent and puissant forces is heat. Now, what is heat?

Like all other phenomena of nature, heat is a mode of motion. This may be illustrated by noting what takes place when a piece of iron is heated by fire. A riotous condition is set up among the particles. They rush wildly around like an excited mob, clashing and striking against each other, as if designing mutual annihilation. This insurrectionary condition among the iron particles is really the phenomenon that we call heat; for when the ends of our nerves come in contact with these swiftly moving particles, they themselves vibrate with the communicated excitement, till the blood rushes like a torrent through the veins, its constituent parts wildly insurrectionary as were the originally heated iron particles, and the sensation we experience from this condition is what we call heat. Once, heat was regarded as a substance, imponderable, which was inserted into other substances and caused them to become inflammatory. All the forces—heat, light, electricity, etc.—were believed to be things, and while they could not be appreciably apprehended, their existence was accepted as axiomatic. Modern science discovered that they were not things, but merely variations of the same force, which itself was but a mode of motion. The entire phenomenal universe is then but a varied expression of one persistent force, which in its last analysis is merely motion. Thus apprehended, however, the universe becomes much more than a mere mechanism, a mere assemblage of correlated forces.

It is not a combination of forces. It is the ceaseless expression of Force, which constitutes the substantial basis and quintessence of all things. The term "force" does not adequately indicate the view we seek to elucidate. Force is concentrated or directed motion. Motion is the origination of all form. Matter (objectivized form) is the apparent arrest of motion. But there is no absolute cessation of motion. That forever goes on through and within all forms of matter.

The measurements of motion are always rhythmical—they follow the laws of oscillation—the backward and forward swinging of the pendulum. It is this rhythm of motion—or vibration—that originates formal matter and sustains a cosmos. Thus we see that every particle of matter in the universe is correlated with every other particle. Each swings in its relative period of oscillation, contactual with every other swinging particle, till we may imagine the universe to consist of myriads of infinitesimal ivory balls which constantly bound against each other, and sway backward and forward in their respective spaces.

So true is this, that we daily experience the effects of this law without perhaps realizing it. The movements of innumerable worlds are constantly impinging upon the atmosphere of our planet. From their quivers, myriad shafts of light, heat, and other so-called forces, are continually penetrating the enveloping mantle of the earth.

The sun emits from his bosom that vast quantity of heat which makes possible the life of this planet. The common notion prevails, however, that the heat which descends from the sun's photosphere and quivers through our atmosphere, permeating, at length, the surface of the globe, is an impalpable substance. They confuse the universal medium which occupies all space, commonly called ether, with the activity which permeates that substance and emanates from the sun's palpitating center. This is the erroneous conception of heat which prevails in the cruder understanding of the race. Even among the more cultured there is another false impression concerning this phenomenon, which is equally unscientific.

Some who admit the wave theory of heat and light hold the view that waves penetrate the ether as individual substances, their identity forever preserved. They suppose that the identical vibration which emanates from the sun's disc, travels on without division or loss of energy till it strikes against our planet or some other intercepting body.

This of course is false. Vibration is an activity; it is not

a substance. The primal substance may be identical; the same everywhere. But the activities which agitate that substance are infinite in form, character, duration, and measurement; they hit one against the other, promoting an infinite succession, without any single vibration ever repeating itself. Heat effects us because of the increased activity set up in the particles of our atmosphere caused by the rapid vibrations set in motion at the sun's center. This is all the analysis we can make of the sun's heat. It is not substance, nor is it, when it impinges against our atmosphere, the same series of vibrations which, a few minutes before, radiated from the sun's surface. This fact will become clear to us if we study the waves of the ocean. We are often deceived, believing that these waves move as a series of individual bodies upon the water's surface. But when we watch a chip tossed backward and forward by their movements, we shall learn that not the same quantity of water that is embosomed in any single wave moves ever forward, but that the same quantity of water remains almost stationary, receiving but the successive impulsion of energy which the preceding wave imparts. Precisely in this manner etheric vibrations sweep the atmosphere from star to sun and from sun to earth.

In the light of this fact how small, indeed, is the universe. It is said to be infinite, immeasurable. Nevertheless, when traversed by the magic forces which have been apprehended by the intelligence of man, how narrow its boundless circumference seems to become!

The sun, some ninety millions of miles removed, thrills us with its radiant or luminous beams that steal from its surface but a few moments before. Only eight minutes for a sun ray to travel through ninety-three millions of miles! We have made the distances between the extremes of our planet very slight indeed, by an intelligent apprehension of those once mysterious forces which we call electricity and magnetism. Think what will come to pass when we can use a sun ray as intelligently as we can electricity!

When we shall be able to utilize that knowledge, then will the Martians indeed become our immediate neighbors, and the extremest portions of the universe become accessible to us.

But while from the contemplation of the fact just reviewed the universe becomes comparatively narrow, conversely, when we realize how long a time the rays from certain astronomical bodies have required to reach us, we cannot but marvel at the stupendous compass of the vast unknown. Flammarion tells us in his interesting way: "Without losing myself in the profundity of infinite perspectives, I attach myself in thought, to that little star of the seventh magnitude in the constellation of the Great Bear, which never descends below the horizon of Paris, and which we can observe every night in the year, and I remember that it shines eighty-five trillions of leagues from here, a distance for which a flash of lightning traveling at the swiftness of a hundred and twenty-five kilometers per hour, would require not less than three hundred and twenty-five millions of years to traverse."

If our sun were transported to that distance the effects of its rays of light and heat upon our atmosphere would be inappreciable. And yet there are myriads of stars which lie far beyond the stars of the seventh magnitude, and which are not only not seen by the naked eye, but which when observed by the telescope, reveal the intimation of still other millions of orbs still further buried in the immeasurable perspective of the infinite. And yet, throughout all, the same impalpable substance pervades the underlying basis of phenomenal manifestations; and this one substance is everywhere pervaded by the one identical force whose activity is motion, whose law is rhythm.

As we have already said, the agitation of the myriad particles of our atmosphere by the ceaseless undulations of the sun's activity, constitutes in certain stages of its progress, the phenomena that we call heat. But the same undulations pushed to higher degrees of activity develops into the phenomenon that we call light. Nevertheless the higher undulations which generate the experience of light within us are

subject to the same law that governs the manifestation of heat ; each undulation sways forward and backward, forever measuring the same distance, forever describing the same period of oscillation. This, as already observed, is the secret of the universal rhythm which establishes the stability of matter — the constancy of form and the permanence of the cosmos. It is motion, oscillation, vibration, rhythm, that maintains what we recognize as the visible world.

The consciousness of this rhythmical activity constitutes our subjective universe. All that we see, all that we realize, is but the ceaseless rhythm of oscillating waves. Therefore, I say, the phenomenal universe is but a congeries of infinite vibrations.

The law of the conservation of energy and the transmutability of forces, demonstrates that we have, in so-called gravitation, cohesion, chemical affinity, heat, light, sound, electricity, but variations of a single force, which is eternally persistent throughout Nature. In its last analysis, that single force seems to be nothing else than the vibratory or rhythmical activity of Being, which constitutes not only the essence and potency of so-called matter, but is even the foundation of life itself, without which conscious existence were an impossibility. I think it is possible to demonstrate that life is the conscious realization of this rhythmical activity, which is manifest in every phenomenon of existence.

A study of the nature and laws of magnetism will, I think, make my idea clear. This is one of the silent forces which some believe to be the original and universal force variously manifested. First, let us examine its grosser phases. We have a piece of polarized iron called a magnet, which held above iron filings will immediately draw them to itself. What causes this? Apparently self-determining locomotion takes place in the particles as they fly upward to the magnet. What causes this? We cannot answer this question until we answer the other question, What is a magnet?

A magnet is polarized iron or steel. That is, it is a piece of iron the molecules of whose extremities tend to move in

opposite directions—one to the south, the other to the north. In the horse-shoe magnet the tendency will be downwards at both extremities, but the tendency of either extremity will necessarily be opposite to that of the other.

Any magnet may be broken into an infinite number of parts, and each of these parts will be also polarized; that is, its extremities will pull in opposite directions. Therefore each molecule of a magnet is itself a magnet, as thoroughly polarized as is the original. But if we conceive a molecule whose extremities tend to move in opposite directions, we shall discern the origin of motion, the cause of nature's ceaseless oscillations. When it yields to its tendency in one direction, it sways that way till it begins to feel the pull of the opposite tendency, when it tends to sway backward to the point from which it swung. Hence the molecule is constantly oscillating. Magnetism, then, in its last analysis is but a phase of vibration.

It will be evident that polarity is vibration when we observe the law that like poles repel, and unlike poles attract. This is precisely the law of vibrations. When two vibratory waves come in contact their impulsion is antagonistic, and like two striking ivory balls they will bound apart. But when two oscillations are receding from a given point, each will attract the other by the force of the opposite pull or suction. The attraction which develops between the two oppositely receding oscillations is the polarity which characterizes the magnet.

At this point we may perceive the relation of these oscillatory forces to human life.

It is not commonly known that about an hundred and fifty years ago a scientific theory was advanced, which so far anticipated all modern theories as to make them appear almost antiquated in comparison. I have reference to the investigations and deliverances of Friedrich Anton Mesmer, whom the world for all these years has regarded as nothing but a charlatan of the direst type. Because he was condemned by the Academy as a pretender he has been neglected by the scien-



tific world as a forbidden teacher and his works have been listed in the scientific *codex expurgatorius*. The common impression is that Mesmer taught that he had discovered the primal fluid in nature, and that by manipulating it he could effect numerous cures.

What he really taught about this universal fluid was in anticipation of the modern theory of the luminiferous ether and the wave theory of light, heat, electricity, etc. He says substantially: Some physicists have already recognized the existence of a universal fluid, but they have erred in defining its characteristics, in overloading it with properties and specific powers that we cannot have cognizance of. Neither heat, light, nor electricity is a substance, but they are effects of motion in the different series of the universal fluid. Properly speaking, there is in nature no attraction; it is only a seeming effect of communicated movements, and in general, all properties, all so-called forces, are but a combined result of the organization of bodies, and of the movement of the fluid in which they exist. . . . Consequently, magnetism, whether universal or animal, is not a fluid, *but an action*; motion, not matter; transmission of motion, *not an emanation* of any kind.\*

As a scientific curiosity I give here Mesmer's explanation of the workings of somnambulism and telepathy, which not only anticipates the modern wave theory, but I think states it with far greater clearness than any modern author: "This communication can take place between two individuals in the normal state only when the movement resulting from the thought is propagated to the vocal organs; these movements are then transmitted to the air or ether as intermediaries, and are received and sensed by the external sense-organs. These movements thus modified by thought in the brain and nerve-centers, being communicated at the same time to the series of nerve fluid with which that nerve substance is in continuity can independently and without the aid of ether or of the air,

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\* Ochorowicz, "Mental Suggestion," Humboldt edition, pp. 304-306.

extend to an indefinite distance and report direct to the inner sense of another individual." \*

Mesmer seems to have approached the exact truth when he says that life is but the manifestation of a subtle motion of a universal substance whose definition is impossible within our present knowledge. So true does this seem to be, that we can almost reproduce the normal activities of life by artificial means. Mr. S. Laing, a shrewd and discreet modern writer on psychic subjects, while wandering around the entire field of occultism in a hapless and uncertain manner, at last drops upon a suggestion which very much reminds us of Mesmer's conclusion: "What can be said of love and hate, if under given circumstances they can be transformed into one another by the action of a magnet? It is evident that these phenomena all point that all we call soul, spirit, consciousness, and personal identity, are indissolubly connected with mechanical movements of the material elements of nerve-centers, and that if we want any further solution we must go down deeper and ask what this matter, what these movements, or rather the energy which causes them, may really mean. Can the antithesis between soul and body, spirit and matter, be solved by being both resolved into one eternal and universal substratum of existence?" †

The uncertain wanderings of this modern speculator fetch up at the exact monistic conclusion of Mesmer, one hundred and fifty years ago. He said in substance: "Matter presents several degrees of fluidity. Water is more fluid than sand; for it can fill the interstices between the grains of sand; air is more fluid than water, for it can be diffused through it; ether is more fluid than air. It is difficult to tell where this divisibility ends, but we may suppose that there are still many degrees of this kind, and that there exists a universal primitive matter, the graduated concentration of which constitutes the states of matter." ‡

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\* Ibid, p. 307.

† "Problems of the Future," p. 106 — Humboldt edition.

‡ Ochorowitz, "Mental Suggestion," p. 304.

The universal law which was suggested by Mesmer, and which is now accepted by modern physicists, seems to be correct. It is a cold scientific fact that the apparent universe is an assemblage of ceaseless and ever-interchanging vibrations; that each sensible object is but a temporary convergence of these vibrations; that every human being exists because of the even balance established between the oscillations of the myriad particles which constitute its organism. We may admit then that physical man is but a phenomenon of correlated oscillations. When he dies all that occurs is that the rhythm and correlation once existing between the vibrations is disarranged.

It does not seem to be an exaggeration to assert that the only difference between chaos and cosmos is that in the latter the infinite motions of the universal substratum are functionally correlated and permanent; whereas in the former they are incidental and transitory.

Why is a stone always a stone, and a tree always a tree? We say it is because they respectively consist of specific chemical substances proportionately related. But this cannot be a last definition, because it is capable of further analysis. The so-called relations of the chemical substances can be shown to be but correlated oscillations. What the final matter or substance is, no one at present can say. But the established oscillatory relations between the infinite particles is an accepted fact in nature. Because of this fact, namely, that between the minutest particles of matter there exist infinite interstices in which these particles swing toward and away from each other—forever describing certain fixed periods of oscillation and maintaining certain permanent polarities—because of this fact we have the distinguishing phases of matter—its different forms, phenomena, and transformations.

When this law is fully realized, how changed is this apparently solid and opaque planet! In the light of this law existence is but motion; life, vibration. I breathe, and the universe trembles. I speak, and the sun's disk pulsates with the

movement of my lips. The wink of my eyelid affects a ring of Saturn — the wave of my hand brushes against the face of the moon. These are scientific, albeit apparently exaggerated facts. The ceaseless waves that ripple on the surface of the invisible substance of the universe we cannot see, but we know their movement must be similar to those of the waters into which heavy objects are thrown, causing infinite ripples to spread from shore to shore. Even on the water's surface we cannot always discern the fate of the far-spreading waves, when they pass beyond the plane of human vision. But we know the waves must continue to sweep on and on, even though unseen by the eye. In like manner, we know that each single impulse that smites the ever-moving, fluidic substance of the universe, spreads throughout its measureless surface the ever-widening circles of vibratory activity.

The apprehension of the real nature of the universe reveals its unity. In its last analysis no particle of matter can be different from any other. Differentiation in nature lies merely at the point of the variation of vibrations.

Ceaseless variation means chaos. Fixed and organized variation means cosmos. The so-called differentiable forces are but variable vibrations. Hence, in the end, all forces are but one force. This force is that power that sways all particles of matter (within fixed periods of oscillation), each particle constituting an infinitesimal pendulum. What we call matter is, therefore, graduable from opaqueness to translucency, from translucency to etherealness; from palpability to impalpability, from visibility to invisibility; according to the varying lengths of the oscillations which are covered by these ever-swinging pendulums. Shorten the lengths of the periods of oscillation and matter becomes more dense, hence more visible; widen the periods and matter becomes less dense, that is, less apparent. When the periods are infinitely expanded, matter passes beyond the affection of the senses and then becomes invisible.

And now that we have learned that all nature is vibratory, it will help us to apprehend a still more recondite truth. Man and all his physical and psychical activities are also vibra-

tory. Man's most important function is thought. But, what is thought? Is thought an activity that is *sui generis*? Is it contradistinguished from all the rest of nature? Not at all; like all other natural activities thought also is vibratory. In its last analysis thought is motion, and is, therefore, as verily a thing as is a rock or a tree. But, as we have seen, all motion in the universe follows the law of rhythmical oscillation. Therefore thought must do the same, and, hence, is a vibration, or better, a series of vibrations.

If, however, the dynamics of silence are discernible in the general view of nature we have above outlined, how much more manifest must they be in the activities of mind! Nowhere can we discover the power of silence more effectually than in the exercise of human thought. Thought is mental energy, itself vibratory, which transposes the relation existing between transitory vibrations. In other words, it alters their polarities — it magnetizes and demagnetizes all existing things. In a physical sense we know that thought produces instantaneous changes in the cellular arrangement of the brain. All thought is formal because it is physically cast in distinct cellular forms. These cellular formations are subject to constant transmutation. The cellular form changes as the thought changes. Thought affects the cranial cells as a pebble affects a brook. Therefore, thought is, manifestly, a force. Doubtless, it should be classified with the other so-called occult forces of nature — chemical affinity, cohesion, gravity, heat, light, electricity, etc. It is a finer and far more intangible gradation of the same series of forces.

But, as we have said, all force in nature is one. That force is vibration, or polarized oscillation. Hence thought is, like all things else in the universe, the manifestation of vibratory energy. When I speak my voice goes on forever. Physics teaches us that no sound wave ever expires. Hence, by the same law, when I think my thought goes on forever. It affects every series of vibrations with which it comes in contact; either, it assimilates with it, or it depolarizes and transforms it. Hence, thought is the mighty Demiurge of exis-

tence. Thought is imperishable ; thought is creative ; thought is deific.

There is an atmosphere where thoughts oscillate continually, moving hither and thither like invisible angels seeking communicative and susceptible minds whereon to impinge their radiant beams. We find much truth in those ancient fables which assumed that each life is surrounded by its own aura, on whose atmosphere is drawn the picture of every thought or fancy, desire or aspiration, which radiated from one's brain.

We are, indeed, so surrounded every moment. The invisible recorder indites each image that floats through the brain upon this universal palimpsest. On this there is constant erasure and constant registration. Yet, all is indelible ; and if it shall ever come true that we shall some time confront this record, and, with the spiritual chemicals of memory, wash the surface of that mysterious palimpsest, it may be the manifold registration will overwhelm us either with its horror, as is pictured in the dream of the Judgment Day, or rescue us from the torture wheel of repeated existence, as portrayed in the halcyon hope of ineffable Nirvana.

But whatever be its teleological sequence, that thought is ceaselessly carving its images on the invisible atmosphere of Being is indisputable. Thought is dynamic. It pierces the void of space as does the sun. Its waves ceaselessly beat against the shores of time. Each of us is momentarily overwhelmed with the surge that sweeps down from the abyss of antiquity, and deluges us with the experiences of a thousand ages.

Who, then, shall say what thought is his own ? O foolish pride of man ! Who can claim independence, originality in thought or invention ? Each thinks because all others think. We think because we are thought into.

Each mind is a reservoir sucking up the rippling currents that sweep through the plains of thought. Thought is the heritage of the past, the heirloom of the future. Nevertheless each person is responsible for his own thoughts, for he can shape his mental characteristics and control its suscepti-



bility. We need entertain only those mental messengers which we wish to; we can reject those we do not fancy.

The Will is the Gate-keeper of the Soul. How powerful is thought; how thaumaturgic! We read, "God said (that is thought) light, and light was." This immortal sentence is the prophecy of man's capacity. For, out of primitive chaos, man thought order, and order was. Man thought, and the hirsute, tree-climbing savage clothed himself and builded cities and civilizations. Man thought, and the marble breathed with beauty, life, and love. Man thought, and crude mountain ore, stretched into ribbons of iron, lay across the pathless plains, spanning continents and binding human interests. Man thought, and lo! stars fall at his feet and in his hand he dissolves their elements till he proves the unity of the physical universe. Man thought, and that serpentine monster of the air—subtle electricity—was harnessed and forced to yield to human uses. Such are the dynamics of silence. And now let me close with the thrilling psalm of that David of philosophy, Thomas Carlyle:—

"Capabilities there are in me (says Teufelsdröckh) to give battle in some small degree against the great Empire of Darkness. Does not the very Ditcher and Delver, with his spade, extinguish many a thistle and puddle; and so leave a little order, where he found the opposite? Nay, your very Day-moth has capabilities in this kind; and ever organizes something (into his own body, if no otherwise) which was before inorganic; and of mute dead air makes living music, though only of the faintest, by humming.

"How much more one whose capabilities are spiritual! who has learned or begun to learn the *grand thaumaturgic art of thought!* Thaumaturgic, I name it, for hitherto all Miracles have been wrought by it, and thenceforth innumerable will be wrought; whereof we, even in this day, witness some. Of the Poet's and Prophet's inspired Message and how it *makes and unmakes whole worlds*, I shall forbear mention; but cannot the dullest hear steam-engines clanking around him?"

HENRY FRANK.

*New York City.*

## EVOLUTION OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

THE numerous peace societies of the United States and Europe date from the year 1815, when the long wars of the Napoleonic era and our war with Great Britain were terminated by the signing of treaties of peace. The terrible suffering, loss of life, injury to commerce, and destruction of property which these wars entailed, deeply shocked large numbers of people both in Europe and America. The first fruit of the movement inaugurated in America by Dr. W. Ellery Channing and Dr. Noah Worcester, was the establishment at New York, in 1815, of the American Peace Society. In December of the same year the Ohio Peace Society was instituted, and similar societies were established in Boston and Philadelphia (1816), and in Maine and Rhode Island (1817). These societies, and, also, one subsequently formed in South Carolina, were amalgamated in 1828, under the name of the American Peace Society,\* with headquarters in Boston; and the publication of an organ, "The Harbinger of Peace," was begun about the same time.

The peace movement in England had for its founders the Rev. David Bogue, Mr. William Allen, and Mr. Joseph T. Price, and, through their efforts, the first British peace society was organized, June 14, 1816. No sooner had the society been regularly established than the "Herald of Peace,"—a periodical in the interests of the peace movement,—was launched, and an active propaganda begun, not only in England, but also on the Continent, where translations of the society's publications into French, German, Italian, and Spanish, were scattered broadcast. The founders of the society also succeeded, though not without much effort, in enlisting the coöperation of a number of prominent Frenchmen, and, in 1821, was established the Société de la Morale Chrétienne, which had for its chief object the promotion of peace and

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\* Mr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, secretary of this society, is now the recognized leader of the peace propaganda in America.

concord between nations. The first president of the society was the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and, among its many distinguished members, were M. de Lamartine, the Duc de Broglie, and M. Carnot and Benjamin Constant.

A branch of the society was established at Geneva in 1830, by the Comte de Sellan, and a periodical, "*Archives de la Société de la Paix à Genève*," was published. A continental agent was employed for several years, during which he went over France, Germany, and the Netherlands, distributing the pamphlets of the society, making speeches, and organizing branches of the association. Meanwhile, the American society had been actively at work; and, mainly through its efforts, the legislature of Massachusetts in 1837 adopted a resolution favoring arbitration and recommending the insertion of a clause providing for the same in all treaties that might thereafter be made between the United States and foreign countries. The peace movement in Europe made headway, little by little, without attracting great attention, until 1843, when the societies of the two continents decided to have an international convention at London, with the view of giving more unity to the movement and making its aim, principles, and purposes better known and understood. The convention opened its proceedings, July 1843, under the presidency of Mr. Charles Hindley. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, president of the *Société de la Morale Chrétienne*, and many other distinguished Frenchmen attended as delegates. The convention unanimously decided to send a memorial to the governments of all civilized nations, requesting them to embody in all future treaties of peace, or alliance, a clause binding themselves, in cases of dispute, to submit all questions at issue to a tribunal of arbitration.

In the same year, a peace convention was held at Brussels, which was largely attended. Resolutions were adopted calling for arbitration, a congress of nations to provide for disarmament, etc. These resolutions were presented to Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister of Great Britain. Lord John declared himself thoroughly in sympathy with the reso-

lutions presented to him, and added that in event of a dispute arising between Great Britain and any other nation, he would deem it his duty to consider favorably any proposition for arbitration, that might be made to the British government.

The next peace convention was held at Paris, in 1849, and in the same year Richard Cobden presented his "Peace and Arbitration" resolution to the British House of Commons. The measure was supported, and its passage advocated in eloquent speeches by John Bright and other distinguished men, but it received only 79 votes in a total of 228. The Paris convention was presided over by Victor Hugo, and was a brilliant gathering. Over five hundred English and about fifty American delegates were present, besides a large number from the different European countries.

A convention was held at Frankfort in 1850, and at London in 1851. The latter was brought about by those indefatigable friends of peace, Elihu Burritt and Henry Richard, M. P., and presided over by Sir David Brewster. The meeting of the convention was coincidental with the opening of the universal exposition. Among the delegates were twenty-two members of the British parliament, and many members of the legislative assembly and council of state of France.

Peace conventions were also held in 1852 and 1853, but the breaking out of the Crimean war, in 1854, which terminated only in the signing of the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, followed by the Franco-Italian war, in 1859, the campaign in Mexico, the Prusso-Danish, and Austro-Prussian wars, our own civil war—these greatly retarded the movement. Nevertheless, the principle of arbitration was embodied in one of the clauses of the treaty between Great Britain, France, and Russia, mainly through efforts of the peace societies.

In 1867,—the year of the Paris World's Fair,—there was a remarkable awakening of the peace movement in Europe and the United States, and a number of new societies were organized. The Ligue Internationale de la Paix was founded by Frédéric Passy, and the Pennsylvania Peace Society by

Dr. Henry Holcombe, in 1868. In the same year a committee of peace was formed in Italy by Signor Francini, and other members of the chamber of deputies. The Peace Association of Friends in America was founded in 1869.

The war between France and the German states, which began in July, 1870, arrested for a time the progress of the movement. The Dutch Peace Society was formed by Mr. Van Eckat at The Hague, September, 1870. Meanwhile, the war was raging, and similar societies were formed during the year at Amsterdam, and other cities of Holland.

The Belgian Association of the Friends of Peace was organized at Brussels in 1871, with a local branch at Verviers. The Scandinavian countries are almost a unit in favor of peace. The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Association \* was founded in 1883, by Mr. Hedlund, of the Swedish parliament, and the Danish Peace Association for the Neutralization of Denmark about the same time, through the efforts of Mr. Fred Bajer, M. P. There are now twenty-five branches of the society in Denmark.

The principal peace societies in France are La Ligue des Femmes pour le Désarmement Internationale, the Société des Travailleurs de la Paix, founded at Paris in 1879, by M. Desmoulins; the Société de Paix d'Arbitrage International, founded in 1884, by M. Godin; the Société de la Paix pour l'Education, Paris; the Société des Amis de la Paix, Chermont Ferrand; La Fraternité Universelle, Grammond; Les Jeunes Amis de la Paix, of which M. Frédéric Passy † is honorary president, and La Société des Journalistes de la Paix, of which M. Marcel Huart is the general secretary.

Italy has a large number of anti-military societies, among them the Lombard Union for the Promotion of Peace, founded in 1878 by Sig. E. T. Moneta, editor of "Il Secolo,"

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\* King Oscar of Sweden is among the most indefatigable of the modern peace enthusiasts, and is in near touch with all the principal peace societies throughout the world.

† Although the Baroness Von Lüttner's "Lay Down Your Arms," is the best known and most quoted argument of the partisans of peace, M. Passy has been the most prolific writer and most determined advocate of peace, and stands as the modern leader of this great cause.

and the Association for Arbitration and Peace between Nations, Rome, whose president is Sig. Ruggiero Borghi.

Other important societies on the Continent are the *Fédération Internationale de l'Arbitration et de la Paix*, at Brussels, founded in 1889 under the presidency of Mr. E. de Laveleye; the *Württemberg Association for Arbitration and Peace*, Stuttgart; the *Frankfort Association for Promoting International Arbitration*, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Franz Wirth, president; the *Fédération de l'Arbitrage et de la Paix*, Buda-Pesth, Hungary; and *La Ligue Internationale de la Paix et de la Liberté*, at Geneva, under the presidency of M. Charles Lemonnier.

The British peace societies have done a great educational work, since 1816, by public meetings, by the distribution of literature, through the press and pulpit, and in every way that the people can be reached. Among the large number of societies in Great Britain, the largest are: the *International Arbitration League* (formerly the *Workmen's Peace Association*), founded in 1870, by Mr. W. R. Cremer, M. P., and the *International Arbitration and Peace Association of Great Britain and Ireland*, founded by Mr. Hodgson Pratt.

There are, in the United States, between forty and fifty peace societies, including those already mentioned. The most worthy of note are, *The American Friends Peace Society*, of Indiana and Ohio, founded in 1873, with its headquarters at Fort Wayne, Ind.; the *National Arbitration Society*, Washington, D. C.; and the *Christian Arbitration and Peace Society*, of Philadelphia, founded in 1886. From the inception of the peace movement in America, down to the present day, the cause of peace has had as advocates some of the most illustrious men of the United States, including even in its earliest days such distinguished scholars and statesmen as Dr. Wm. E. Channing, Dr. Kirkland, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Josiah Quincy, Elihu Burritt, John G. Whittier, Charles Sumner, and Robert C. Winthrop.

The value of woman's work for peace can hardly be overestimated. The influence of woman has always been a



potent factor in all great movements, and she now sees a supreme opportunity to use that influence in the cause of peace. There are a number of societies for the purpose of promoting peace and abolishing war, of which the members are women only. The most important of these are the Women's League for Universal Disarmament of Paris, of which the Princess Wierziewski and Mme. Camille Flammarion are the active leaders; the Society of Women of the Occident and Women of the Orient, Mme. Hyacinthe Loyson, president; the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Peace Society, Mrs. Henry Richard, president; the Women's Peace and Arbitration Association, of which Mrs. Wm. Bright Lucas is president; the Ladies' Society, at Amsterdam, Miss Bergerdahl, president; the Ladies' Peace Association, of Copenhagen, Mrs. M. Bajer, president; and the Women's Department of Peace and Arbitration of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of which Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey is president. The subject of peace has also had a prominent place at ninety meetings of the union, and eighty-five thousand women of America have signed an address to the Hague convention.

Organized labor in America is strongly in favor of arbitration and peace, and opposed to militarism. At the conventions of the labor organizations in 1846, 1850, and 1868 resolutions were adopted against foreign wars, and demanding disarmament in foreign countries. At the recent peace meeting in Boston, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, said: "The organizations of labor in all civilized countries are in correspondence with each other. There has never been a convention or conference of workers which has not declared for peace and for impressing upon the public mind the absolute necessity of tranquillity."

Modern warfare is very costly. Vast sums have been spent and an enormous number of lives lost through it. The wars of American and European nations, from 1790 to 1880, cost 4,470,000 lives and fifteen billions of dollars. The indirect loss cannot even be approximately estimated. In

Napoleon's disastrous campaign of 1812, it is estimated that 600,000 men were killed in battle, or died of cold or hunger, in the short space of one hundred and thirty-four days. The Crimean war cost the nations that took part in it \$1,500,000,000 in cash, and the lives of 550,000 men. The Russians lost over 400,000 men, and the allies 150,000 men.

The last war between France and Germany cost France 120,000 men killed in battle or dead of wounds or sickness, and in money, including the indemnity paid to Germany, \$1,850,000,000. There were also more than 200,000 men disabled. The German loss in killed and wounded was smaller, but, nevertheless, aggregated 150,000 men.

The cost in men and money of the principal wars since 1851 is:—

WAR.	COST IN MONEY.	COST IN LIVES.
Italian (1859) . . . . .	\$300,000,000	45,000
Austro-Prussian (1866) . . . . .	330,000,000	45,000
Russo-Turkish . . . . .	1,000,000,000	225,000
Franco-Prussian . . . . .	2,500,000,000	210,000
Zulu and Afghan . . . . .	300,000,000	40,000
	<hr/> \$4,430,000,000	<hr/> 565,000

Our civil war, including pensions and interest on the public debt, cost nine thousand millions of dollars (\$9,000,000,000) and the lives of 700,000 men, most of them between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five, the very flower of the country's manhood. Our recent war with Spain, brief and successful as it was, cost us (including the \$20,000,000 paid to Spain) \$381,000,000 and 6,200 lives. Millions of dollars will have to be paid out for pensions, interest on the war loan, and other payments arising out of the war, not to speak of the cost of maintaining garrisons in Cuba and Puerto Rico, with the Philippines still to be reckoned with.

The number of men in the armies and navies of the most powerful six nations of Europe is as follows:—

## EUROPEAN ARMIES AND NAVIES.

*Number of Men Maintained and Their Cost to the Nations.*

	ARMY. NUMBER OF MEN.	NAVY. NUMBER OF MEN.	COST OF ARMY AND NAVY, 1899.
Russia . . . . .	896,000	29,859	\$305,157,000
England . . . . .	180,513	106,390	214,995,000
France . . . . .	616,092	42,322	190,415,000
Germany . . . . .	585,453	21,713	143,660,000
Austria . . . . .	358,211	13,580	65,856,000
Italy . . . . .	25,984	23,992	77,061,000
Totals . . . . .	2,662,253	237,856	\$997,144,000

## UNITED STATES COMPARED WITH EUROPE.

	ARMY.	NAVY.	COST.
United States . . . . .	58,012	18,685	\$150,815,985
Annual pensions paid to ex-soldiers,			145,748,865

Total annual cost to United States, army, navy, and  
pensions, in time of peace, \$296,564,850

The annual war expenditure per capita of the principal  
countries of the world is:—

## EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

Russia . . . . .	\$1.17	Sweden and Norway . . .	\$1.36
Germany . . . . .	2.70	Belgium . . . . .	1.44
France . . . . .	2.21	Roumania . . . . .	1.56
England . . . . .	3.21	Portugal . . . . .	1.06
Austria . . . . .	2.08	Bulgaria . . . . .	1.36
Italy . . . . .	1.46	Switzerland . . . . .	1.49
Spain . . . . .	2.12	Greece . . . . .	1.29
Turkey . . . . .	.83	Servia . . . . .	1.16
Netherlands . . . . .	1.92	Finland . . . . .	0.62
Denmark . . . . .	1.22		

## NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

British India . . . . .	\$0.40	United States (1896) . . .	\$0.72
Japan . . . . .	0.54	China . . . . .	0.03
Brazil . . . . .	0.59	Argentina . . . . .	1.28
Chili . . . . .	1.72	Egypt . . . . .	0.23
Guatemala . . . . .	1.49	Canada . . . . .	0.32

The armed forces of Europe on a war footing would be 17,000,000 men, one man out of every five on the Continent being a soldier. The expenses of the army and navy in England absorb 40 per cent. of the total revenue; Russia, 29 per cent.; France, 27 per cent.; Italy, 22 per cent.; Germany, 19 per cent.; Austria, 17 per cent. The expenditure for interest and management of public debt absorbs 43 per cent. of the receipts of Italy; Austria, 29 per cent.; France, 28 per cent.; England, 27 per cent.; Russia, 25 per cent.; Germany, 13 per cent. Yet, despite this great outlay, the inhabitants of Europe gain no real security from war, but only an armed peace.

The principal nations of Europe have a common desire for disarmament. In Germany, popular discontent is manifested in the rapid spread of socialism. Although Germany received from France, in the years 1871-72, five milliards of francs, or one billion of dollars, as indemnity for the war, not one cent was expended in promoting the well-being of the German people. The whole of this fabulous sum was used for military and naval purposes. The debt of the empire was next to nothing in the years succeeding the war with France, but it now amounts to \$750,000,000, and is increasing rapidly. The act of the Czar in calling the disarmament convention together is, in itself, an admission that there is something radically wrong in our social system. The message has been received with great enthusiasm by the people of Europe, for it offers a prospect of release from the tyranny of the monster of militarism, which is devouring the substance and wasting the resources of nations.

Time out of mind, agitators for humanity have been weighed in the balance as visionaries by "the idle majesty of might," while the trade in wholesale butchery has thriven. It is only a little over a hundred years, since the first society for the suppression of human slavery was established in London, and its founders were looked upon as visionary enthusiasts. Yet chattel slavery has been abolished throughout Christendom, and military slavery must in time also dis-

appear. The death knell of militarism will sound ere long, even if the results of the convention at The Hague should fall short of the expectations of the advocates of peace.

WILLIAM FEARING GILL.

*Paris, France.*

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### RATIONAL COLLEGE EDUCATION.\*

**I**NTELLECTUAL education has a two-fold purpose,—acquisition of knowledge and mental discipline. Knowledge is an end in itself and a means of discipline. What knowledge is of most worth, and what curriculum will produce the most desirable culture, are the fundamental questions which have exhausted the reasoning of ancient and modern writers on education.

A rational system of education must be based on a correct understanding of the constitution and development of the mind, and of the demands of modern life. The prevailing system of higher education is mainly traditional. Although the college curriculum has been much improved during the past quarter of a century, no systematic effort has been made to conform it, completely, to the known laws of mental development, or to the requirements of modern life. Undoubtedly the chief aim of primary education should be to teach thoroughly "the three R's"; and the purpose of professional and technical education is to impart the knowledge and skill required for successful professional practice. But what should be the curriculum of the college proper?

As the fields of science and philosophy have widened, the college curriculum has been enlarged by the addition of optional subjects of study. This has necessitated specialization. Instead of a single curriculum, courses have been arranged in arts, philosophy, science, and literature. One

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\* See "Modern College Education" by the same writer in July Arena.

American university, however, has recently abolished the distinction of special courses by making all subjects elective. Under this system the student determines his course according to taste or prejudice. An ideal college curriculum would combine the acquisition of the most valuable knowledge with the most desirable mental training. But what knowledge is of most worth? What faculties should receive the most training, and what, exactly, are the cultural effects of the various subjects of study?

Knowledge is valuable in proportion as it is useful in everyday life. The most valuable knowledge is that required for self-preservation. Next in importance is that which the constitution of society renders more or less necessary; such is knowledge of social and commercial customs, of government and laws. Last in the scale of values is that class of knowledge which has little or no relation to the conditions of modern life; such, for the average person, is detailed knowledge of the ancient languages, histories, mythologies, and, for the non-professional student, minutiae of the sciences.

As a means of mental development, no study is worthless. The acquisition of knowledge of any kind develops some faculty of the mind. The study of the Hebrew language is, perhaps, as good a means of training the memory as the study of Latin. But varied mental discipline is desirable; and an ideal curriculum will not provide for the cultivation of the memory at the expense of the other intellectual powers.

In arranging a curriculum the greatest prominence should be given to the studies which combine the most useful knowledge with the most desirable culture. To this end a careful estimate should be made of comparative educational values. Herbert Spencer has shown science to be superior to the classics as knowledge and as a means of mental development; but he has not solved the problem. What is the best college curriculum?

There is not, of course, any means at present known by which the effect of any mental exercise can be definitely determined; nor can the progress of mental development be



accurately measured. Educational values must largely depend, too, upon the method of study, or the ability of the educator. One method of instruction in history, for instance, might develop the ethical sense, form the judgment, and teach wisdom; another might chiefly train the memory and store the mind with dead facts. No two educators would estimate educational values alike. Education cannot, by any system of calculation, be made an exact science. But it is possible to form a curriculum which shall give to the student the benefit of all the knowledge we possess of the development of the mental powers and the demands of modern life. As a means of determining, approximately, the comparative educational values of the various subjects of study, the following table of educational values has been devised:

SUBJECT.	Esthetic (4)	Ethical (4)	Memory (4)	Reason (3)	Invention (2)	Utility (2)	Wisdom (1)	Average
Law . . . . .	10	60	50	90	70	90	90	46
Debating . . . . .	20	60	50	80	90	85	80	43
Rhetoric . . . . .	25	15	15	55	80	85	40	30
History . . . . .	20	60	50	50	15	60	70	30
Physical Science, Var. . . . .	10	15	30	60	35	70	40	29
Elocution . . . . .	50	25	20	50	15	75	40	26
Sociology . . . . .	25	50	5	50	20	60	60	26
Political Economy . . . . .	10	25	15	90	25	50	50	25
English Literature . . . . .	50	25	20	25	20	50	20	19
Ethics . . . . .	20	90	5	90	15	10	50	19
Higher Mathematics, Var. . . . .	5	15	20	90	35	20	5	18
English Language . . . . .	5	5	30	20	5	80	5	13
Classics . . . . .	20	5	80	25	20	20	5	12

The values assigned are estimated on a scale of one hundred, presuming ordinary capacity. The numbers in each column are divided by the figure in parenthesis at the head of that column. Adding laterally, and multiplying by three to offset the division, we get the averages in the last column.

Memory is one of the most valuable of the mental powers ; but it is most susceptible to cultivation during childhood. It is important to consider that memory is not a single mental capacity, but that there is one memory for form, another for names, another for music, and so forth. The power of recollection depends largely on understanding. As the mind develops, the power of making logical associations increases, and the necessity for memorizing by rote decreases. In proportion as the attention is occupied with arbitrary details must the normal development of the reason and judgment be retarded. Persons remarkable for verbal memory are rarely distinguished by general ability, and those who are superior in other respects are often weak in memory. A system of higher education based largely on memory exercise may be, not merely defective, but injurious.

The purpose of college education is general culture, not special training for a particular calling. But the curriculum should not exclude psychology or law merely because special knowledge of those subjects is required for particular professions. The college should not be opposed to the useful, nor should it ignore entirely the law of the division of labor. The systematic study of law is one of the best means of developing the reason and judgment. The valuable training to be derived from debating should not be left to chance. A definite amount of work should be required in this, as in other departments. Here the best ability of the faculty can be used to the greatest advantage. Every class should be a debating society, the instructor acting as leader and judge. Macaulay thought that the training of the Athenian youth who listened to the debates between the great masters was superior to that afforded by any university. The mind is not a receptacle to be filled, but a variety of capacities to be developed. To promote normal development, not merely to lecture and hear recitations, is the highest office of the college educator.

Probably too much is attempted by the ordinary college. Franklin, Webster, Lincoln and many others of our ablest

men inform us that they had few books, but that they read those few again and again. A few thoughts well assimilated are better than many only swallowed. The duty of the true educator is, not to think for the student nor to marshal many facts and thoughts in review before his mind, but to stimulate him to activity—to give him the key to all knowledge and all philosophy.

If it be true that the classics and mathematics are inferior as means of liberal education to science, literature, and philosophy, it follows that less time should be devoted to the former. Only specialists in language, mathematics, or science, need continue those studies in the university or school of technology. Thorough analytical study of such masterpieces as Macaulay's *Essays on History*, Bacon, and Milton; Gibbon's *Rome*; Cicero's *Oratory and Orators*; Guizot's *History of Civilization*; Spencer's *First Principles*, *Data of Ethics*, and *Sociology*, might be substituted for the ordinary routine work in the classics. The editor of the American edition of Spencer's works justly remarks, "that the thorough study of Spencer's philosophical scheme would combine, in an unrivaled degree, those prime requisites of the highest education, a knowledge of the truths which it is most important for man to know, and that salutary discipline of the mental faculties which results from their systematic acquisition."

The established system of college education has done much for intellectual development. We venerate the old college; we esteem it only a little less than the church. But we claim the right of dissent from many of its tenets. The best system of physical training is that which develops, harmoniously, all the physical powers, and particularly those which will be most exercised in the contest for which it is intended to prepare. The best college training is that which develops all the mental powers, but especially those whose exercise is most necessary and useful in every-day life—to the individual and to society.

The system of teaching in common use in college tends to develop the receptive and retentive, rather than the judg-

ing and creative powers of the mind. The student's attention is occupied mainly with the acquisition of the thought of the text-book or of the lecturer. Such a system necessarily develops retentiveness rather than productiveness. Hence we find the percentage of original writers, inventors, discoverers, and reformers is greater among those who have not had all the advantages of the so-called best schools. Macaulay believed that had Shakespeare learned to read Sophocles we should never have had Lear. Too much attention is given to acquiring the thoughts of others and to gleaning the husks of knowledge, not enough to the developing of the reasoning, judging, and inventing capacities.

The college should require for admission a good academic education, including a general knowledge of Greek and of French. The required reading in Latin and in German might be decreased so as to admit of a higher standard for entrance in English and some knowledge of the other important languages, without extending the time now required for preparation. The academy should furnish general rather than special training. English should receive more attention than Latin and German. It is surely unwise to begin to study three or four foreign languages, as if the student were to be a specialist in each. The time given to all of them would not suffice to give to any one of them that command which is the object of the study of all. Few, even of the teachers of languages, master them so as to enable them to make such translations as have been made of almost every work worth translating. The claim that knowledge of foreign language is the only key to its literature is no longer reasonable.

The division of college courses into literary, scientific, philosophic, and pedagogic, would allow proper exercise for individual capacity and taste. The first two years might be the same for all — a gymnasium or general culture stage. The third and fourth years might be arranged to meet the requirement for special preliminary training for a particular department of university or professional school study.

There is not, in this country, any well marked distinction

between the college and the university. Most of the colleges have recently assumed the name "university" and, with one or two exceptions, those that were designed as universities are doing college work. If the work might be divided so that the first two years could be assigned to the college and the second two to the university proper, much better work could be done. The missing link in education—a means of preventing round men from getting into square callings, and square men into round—should be supplied. With the advice of those who have watched his development, and formed an estimate of his talents and acquirements during two years, each student might be directed, with due consideration for his own predilection, tastes, and circumstances, into the channel for which he might seem best adapted. Thus at the end of the second year the courses would diverge into special scientific, literary, philosophic, and pedagogic.

The chief aim of the first two-years' course should be to cultivate mental capacity, particularly the power of comprehensive reasoning and judging. The second two-years' course should develop the inventive faculty and the capacity for original thought and investigation. That the ordinary classical, mathematical, and scientific courses of study and the "pouring-in" system do not fully develop such capacities is amply proved by experience. It is unreasonable to expect creative power to result from the learning of paradigms and vocabularies. Training in intuitive mathematical reasoning, in which there can be no variation, is not calculated to develop the power of discovering truth. The mere possession of detailed scientific knowledge, however valuable, is not education in its best sense. The modern college curriculum should include the study of *science* rather than of the sciences.

The following outline—as yet necessarily imperfect—is suggested for the first two years of the college course:

*First year.* (1) Knowledge and Culture: Their relations, uses, and methods of acquisition. (2) Spencer's First Principles and Data of Ethics. (3) Macaulay's Essays on Bacon, Milton, and History. (4) Development of English language

and literature and elementary law (Kent and Blackstone). *Second year.* (1) Criticism of current thought in reviews and critical study of masterpieces of literature. (2) Character (Smiles) and Sociology (Spencer). (3) Argumentation and principles of rhetoric. (4) Political Economy and Government. Optional collateral courses in science, history, literature, and languages should be offered; but these should be subordinate. Two hours weekly should be required in debating.

This is an age of cheap books and vast knowledge. Everybody reads, but few know how to read wisely, or to discriminate between truth and error. Even the so-called educated man is often the victim of his latest author. The ordinary system of college training directs the greater part of the student's energy to absorbing the thoughts of others and to the acquisition of words, facts, and formulæ which, though valuable when rightly used, are not assimilated, and instead of developing, tend rather to retard development. Mental digestion is not a passive process.

The theory that the unlimited acquisition of knowledge is desirable, and that all study is beneficial, is one of the most pernicious of educational dogmas. All knowledge is valuable. But if it were possible for one to encompass the realm of the known by the memory, no benefit would result to the individual or to the race. The "learned blacksmith" did nothing for mankind. Watts, Franklin, and Edison, without great learning, added much to the sum of human happiness and wisdom. Knowledge is power only as it is rightly used. The acquisition of knowledge and thought should not be the sole object, even in the professional school. The best physician or lawyer is not necessarily he who knows most of the contents of the books. The development of capacity is more important than the acquisition of facts, formulæ, and theories — especially in the college proper, the avowed purpose of which is not preparation for a particular calling, but mental development.

The general knowledge of ancient and modern languages,



history, science, and mathematics which every well-educated person must possess, should be acquired in the academy; detailed knowledge is the object of special study, which is the province of the professional or technological school or of the university proper. Instead of directing the student's efforts to the learning of facts and opinions set forth in the text-books or in lectures, the text-book should be made a basis for original study. The student should "read not to accept nor to believe, but to weigh and consider." An abstract of each paragraph of the text should be made. The student should be required to set forth his own views on each topic treated by the author. He should also propose questions which, with those suggested by the instructor, should form the basis of study and investigation. Properly conducted, such a system would, necessarily, develop capacity for original thought and investigation, and a love of truth. A student so trained, instead of finishing his education at graduation, would commence it. He would undoubtedly have less knowledge to forget within the succeeding ten years, but he would certainly have greater capacity for dealing with the problems of his own experience.

The second half of the course should be arranged as a preparatory course for future special study. The pedagogic course, for instance, which would be especially adapted to those who might wish to devote themselves to education, should be arranged to cultivate the capacities required for the greatest usefulness in that field of labor. The instructors in a modern college should be, not merely well informed and duly graduated, but able men and women—trained thinkers capable of developing the reasoning, judging, investigating, and inventing capacities in others.

If, as many of our most careful and conscientious students of educational problems believe, and as those who view the results from an unprejudiced position assert, college education is not as effective as it might be made, our plain duty is to discover the defects in the system and endeavor to correct them. This will necessitate the overruling of that conserva-

tism which is the peculiar characteristic of the established college; but the gain that must accrue to the cause of true education will more than compensate for the loss.

THOMAS J. ALLEN.

*Aurora College.*  
*Aurora, Ill.*

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### THE INNER LIFE.

THE most important epoch in human life begins with the discovery of the inner world, the world of individual consciousness, the home of creative thought, the inceptive point of action. For this discovery involves an entire change of attitude toward life, and is the clue to the obscurest problems, the beginning of all philosophical truth. The consequences are, in fact, so great and so distinctly individual that one can hardly hope to suggest them to another. The present series of discussions is, however, an analysis of the inner life, and the reader who has followed me thus far is ready to consider the vital issues logically suggested by the foregoing articles, and to apply to his particular inner life the conclusions which have become more and more emphatic as we approached the problem from successive points of view.

Our general subject has been the meaning and scope of action. We have found the ultimate meaning of life in the fact that the universe is the progressive manifestation of God, whose world plan involves the attainment of universal freedom and harmony, the realization of the highest moral and spiritual ideals. But the meaning of life, the nature of experience, for you and me, we have everywhere traced to the second great fact, namely, that man thinks and acts, that the entire universe is colored by the mood in which he approaches it, his reaction in relation to it. The meaning of finite action is that man is a creative organ of the universe, a free moral agent. The sphere of action in each of us is

co-extensive with individuality. The limitations of action are the limitations of law; for example, the successive stages of evolution, no one of which can be omitted, and the bounds placed upon us by the fact that we are moral beings, members one of another. The genesis of action we have traced to the creative effort, arising in the far inner world of belief, conviction, will, love, and genius. The highest ideal of action we have found to be coöperation, adjustment to the advancing harmony of life, service, love. We have rejected the theory that man can do anything he pleases; and although we discarded the easy optimism of believers in fate, and the doctrine that "all is good," we still found it possible to believe in the ultimate goodness of things.

The endeavor to emphasize the need of individual action, as opposed to supine belief in fate, has, however, brought us to the parting of the ways. What kind of action is wisest? Shall we aggressively force things to go our way? Or is there a higher law? Shall we work upon the surfaces of things, or develop from within with due consideration for our fellow beings?

I shall soon give an unqualified answer, and by so doing not only part company with certain theorists, but also set at rest the critics who, because of the stress laid on finite action and the distinctions between good and evil, have charged me with a change of view. But I wish at first to call attention to the aspect of the inner life, which seems to me to give the clue to the individual problem as a whole, namely, the sacredness which surrounds the inmost experiences of the soul. For I do not ask the reader to study the inner life as the home of the personal self alone, but as the holy of holies, which witnesses the supreme revelation of God. It is the spiritually creative world, the manger wherein is born the Christ ideal. I know of no solution to the total problem of life except the discovery of this, its richest and noblest aspect, and the outward manifestation in all its fulness of the beauty and sanctity of this supreme ideal.

In order to realize this sacredness, before we consider the

more serious problem, let us enter the inner world as we would a great cathedral, to worship in spirit and in silence. This spirit is best illustrated by those occasional moments when there is a brief pause in our restless, every-day life, and we seem for the time to possess that of which we are in search. In such moments a power is revealed which surpasses all other forces, a consciousness which transcends the highest endeavor of self-consciousness, yet is that which inspires and guides it. When that spirit comes, one feels a sense of awe, of calm humility, a quiet desire to become truly and fully receptive, that no obstacle in self may impede the divine inflow. All problems are, for the time being, thrown into the background; all fears are banished. There is almost no questioning, no attempt to dictate the form which the inspiration shall take. Nor is one inclined to apply the tests of skepticism. All that is for another time. Now the one deep desire is, not to reason about reality, but to possess the thing itself. As the sky raises its pure azure above the highest mountain, so is this spirit superior to all that aspires to attain its boundless beauty and love. And I offer no proof that there is a divine presence which each man may perceive in his inner sanctuary but that presence itself, the immediate consciousness that one has transcended the mere finite to abide for a season with the Infinite. Were I to undertake more, an adequate description of all I mean by this great love and peace, my words would defame its sacred presence, and the cold analysis would convey, not the poetry of the inner life, not the warmth of love, but the dull prose of mere science, the grasping hate of selfishness, which insists that the last citadel of sentiment shall yield.

We are already face to face with the great issue which the inner life so clearly emphasizes, namely, that we find what we seek, that we see only what we are developed to see, — action and reaction are equal.

The law is brought home to the mind with fearful emphasis when one realizes its tremendous consequences. Hitherto, one has cast the blame upon the world. One has complained

of the conditions of life, found fault with friends, criticized society, condemned the government, and blasphemed God. One has sought salvation through belief, labored for temperance reform by securing restrictive legislation, tried to destroy disease by doctoring effects, to idealize society by imposing an artificial ideal upon it. One has lived an external life, a life of the flesh, in pursuit of happiness, the mere accumulation of possessions. Now it dawns upon the mind with the force of unshakable conviction that everything primarily depends upon the individual, that salvation through character is the only way, that all permanent reform begins within, the only cure comes through self-help, the only freedom through self-knowledge and self-mastery. Then follows a gradual realization of all that these great facts involve. Peace is to be found only within. The individual advances so far only as he understands and makes effort for himself. All change comes about through evolution. All development is from an inner center or seed. We make our own happiness and misery. We are injured, contaminated, oppressed, when there are corresponding and inviting conditions within. Disease is an exact result of the life we lead. Environment is such as our own constitution attracts. Not one moment of life is exempt from the steady march of events instantly, impartially, and irresistibly modified by all that we are at the time, by all that we think, by all that we do.

The law of the inner life, then, is, know thyself: seek first the kingdom, the creative realm, the spiritual center of calm, poised self-control, then regulate the entire in accordance with this high ideal. Begin each day, begin each new undertaking, by first turning to this holy of holies that you may consecrate yourself afresh. Transcend sensation, the merely personal inclination and desire, and ask, What is the highest ideal, what is demanded of me as a son of creative Spirit, of all-encompassing Love? Then test each detail of daily conduct by the same high standard, that each hour may be inspired by conscious coöperation with the creative Father. For it is not enough to seek the inner kingdom, then pas-

sively wait for all things mechanically to follow. This savors of fatalism, of *laissez faire* religion.

In our discussion of the harmony of life\* we have seen that each phase of the advancing Perfect calls for understanding and adjustment on our part. The inner life is made complete only through outward, physical, and social life; *it is not perfect in itself*. Introspection simply intensifies egoism and indifferentism, unless it is followed by the outgoing life of service. Solitude, silence, receptivity is good only as a means to an end, to fellowship and activity. One should not sacrifice an atom of Anglo-Saxon energy and enterprise.

One should be constantly on the alert to avoid lazy optimism and self-complacency. Become a Hindu within, a seer, a spiritually poised and peaceful soul, only that you may be a better Anglo-Saxon without. Possess yourself and your forces that you may avoid the tremendous waste of energy of our American life. Practise economy of motion, but begin always within, by first arresting the nervous scattering of force. Centralize conduct. Forever forego the attempt to transform your life by merely altering your surroundings and working upon effects. Concentrate upon the inceptive point of all activity in the inner world.

Consciously or unconsciously all life is an outpouring from within. Hence are issued all the commands that lead to good or bad action. Fear springs from within, causes one to shudder and draw back. Anger throws its stern power into the features and clinches the fists. Sorrow melts the hardened frame and joy lights it up. All our moods, for example, jealousy, grow into huge proportions because we first harbor an inmost sentiment, and permit it to expand and add to itself.

When all has been said in favor of the active realization of our inner ideals, the chief stress, however, must be placed upon receptivity; for it is here that we are most apt to err. We desire things for ourselves; we wish things to go our way; we carry individuality to excess and become dominating. One

\* See the May Arena.



of the mental healing schools has degenerated into this attitude by placing undue emphasis upon the assertion of the "I."

The attempt to use the power of thought for personal purposes, the "claiming" of wealth, the sending out of desire that a certain friend shall give one a certain present, the effort to control minds at a distance—all this is a perversion of the inner life, a subtle form of selfishness.

The higher way is the setting aside of the finite self by asking, "What wilt thou have me to do?" It has no desire, it has no will, except for that which shall be given it to do. It is not a "trust," it is not a monopoly; it is coöperation for the highest good, not merely for self and society, but for the glory and beauty of God; the rounding out of the total universe. It is the *life* of righteousness, not merely the *seeking* of the Kingdom which shall cause "all these things to be added unto you." It is to the little children that the kingdom shall come. It is with those who preserve receptivity, spontaneity, and humility that it shall abide.

Furthermore, the inner life is the life of faith. All things shall be added only to those who are daily and hourly true to the law. Patience and moderation, equanimity and fidelity to all the stages of painstaking evolution—these are indispensable to the completion of the spiritual plan. There is a natural attraction which draws the soul to conditions like the inner altitude. Action and reaction are equal in infinitely minute detail. Precisely as one measures out love and trust, or despair and doubt, shall one be rewarded.

To him who dedicates his life in entire willingness to obey the inward command, favorable circumstances shall come with a power which nothing can withstand.\* All things yield before such a soul in a wonderful way. "All things work together for good for them that love the Lord." But the love must be there, the wisdom, the fidelity to the moral law.

We must stringently avoid the pitfalls and snares of the "all-is-good" doctrine; for each new experience calls for discernment. He alone shall keep the path, who persistently

\* See the April Arena, p. 477.

watches and prays, that he may know the disinterested guidance from the personal, the divine moving from the subtly illusive egoism which persistently simulates and pursues it.

No rule is adequate. It is impossible to sum up the wisdom of life in a single precept such as "Resist not evil," "All is good." For in reality —

"All are needed by each one,  
Nothing is fair or good alone."

Every individual is dependent on society ; society shall be perfected only through the full development of the individual. Every man must be receptive, yet every man must be active. Sometimes it is wise to accept circumstances as they come ; sometimes they must be strenuously resisted. There are conditions in which it is wisest to hold still and wait, letting all things become adjusted. Again, if one were non-resistant, one might harbor a trouble months and years, when a few strokes of wise positiveness would have put an end to it.

Every occasion must therefore be met by the wisdom of the occasion, the highest, newest guidance from within. Every effort must be made to keep the faculty of receptivity alive and pure. It is pure dogmatism to say that we cannot temporarily degenerate. It is a barefaced assumption of omniscience, to claim that there are no failures ; an unpardonable confusion of ethics and science to affirm that "whatever is, is right." For, whatever ought to be, is right. What is, does not tell me what is right and what is wrong. Injustice is oppression, slavery, sin. But the inner vision reveals a higher ideal, and assures us that justice is right ; that ignorance is an excuse only for a mistake, never for a crime ; and that we ought to pattern our life after this superior enlightenment.

It is a base betrayal of the inner life to overlook these distinctions. To affirm that "all is God, therefore all is right" is to sweep away in one breath finite selfhood, finite thought and action, and all the exigencies, the struggles, failures, successes ; all the joys and beauties of evolution. The inner world is precisely the place where one must become more

conscientious, must discriminate. There must be no confusion between the divine and the human ; between feeling and the ethical motive which should govern feeling ; the emotion that lifts one above self and the one that involves one in it ; the power that makes for righteousness and the one that makes for mere individualism.

The moral life issues from within, and is such when we are discriminative, when we *intend* it as such. "Every time we sincerely, honestly *mean* to do right, no matter how mistaken we may turn out to be in our judgment, our action has a moral worth," says W. M. Salter. The moral life is a life governed by principle, where impulse is mastered and the purest motives are chosen. In the fuller sense it is the result of a highly developed state of discriminative consciousness. It is both intellectual and spiritual, both knowledge of the law and the power of love's strongest incentive.

In whatever way we regard the inner life, therefore, we find that for each of us it is fundamentally conditioned by the individual. Everything that develops me depends upon my thought about it, my reaction upon it. All that comes to me, comes because I sought it. I may forget that I prayed for it, but nature does not forget, my subconscious mind does not forget. We attract what we fear, as well as what we hope for. Whatever *strongest* thought we associate with certain surroundings, certain persons and experiences, is likely to be continuously associated with them in our minds.

Why, then, if thought is thus continuously powerful are not our ideals more quickly realized? Because will or choice is but one of the factors of experience. The laws of evolution are hard and fast. The inner world governs the outer only when the outer has risen to its high level and all things correspond. In many directions, as we have repeatedly noted in this series of discussions, mere thought is insufficient ; we must act and act persistently.

It is important, also, to remember that, although we are creative agents, the power we use is given to us. We are

sharers in a life that limits and blesses, serves and unites us all. Of ourselves we can do nothing; he who would automatically control the forces of the inner life, has not fully understood it. It cannot too often be repeated, we are members of a social organism. We are dependent on others, upon the steady march of events over which we have only a slight power. The growth of ideas for example, is best stimulated by controversy, and in vain does the hermit endeavor to dispense with society. The best result of mere introspection, therefore, is the discovery of its utter inadequacy if made an end in itself; the discovery of the dignity and beauty, the opportunity and privilege of individual life as a part of the whole, a function in the social organism, with duties to that organism.

But it seems a hard saying—that the circumstances in which every soul is placed are due to the inner life of the individual, that the pauper in the slums, the oppressed laborer and the slave are such because of their own state of development. Can it be true that not the oppressor, the deceiver, and the thief are to blame, but the innocent victim who is drawn into misery through his own ignorance? Such a conclusion would seem harsh and cruel in the extreme; it would excuse the wrongdoer except so far as he himself suffers; it would call for a complete change in all methods of social reform.

The believer in reincarnation puts in a word here which seems to him to solve the difficulty. The miserable, degraded, and oppressed souls have gravitated into conditions of hardship in this life because of misconduct in a previous existence; their own karma is the cause of their present misery, and they must suffer until the debt be paid. But how happens it that some souls gravitate into downy beds of ease, why are some so gifted, some so "lucky," and some born into conditions where they can recline in luxury and evolve theories of justice to account for the sufferings of the under half; theories in which it is perfectly easy for those to believe who are not themselves condemned to misery? If

you carry all this a stage farther back and attribute these inequalities to past incarnations, is not your problem as difficult as before? When did the inequalities begin? Is it credible that a poor, ignorant, downtrodden slum-dweller once had the same opportunities put before him which lead to the development of a Beethoven, a Browning, a Lincoln; that he rejected these, and personally laid the foundations of every phase of his present misery?

The mystery of injustice is obviously made the greater by such an extreme doctrine. We have found that "nothing is fair or good alone," that the individual is a dependent, related, social being, and that no precept is adequate by itself. Our circumstances come both from ourselves and from our ancestry. In many instances the parents are responsible for bringing children into the world under unfavorable conditions. *The individual is responsible only when he is given a choice.* He awakens into conditions of which he can become master only so far as he understands them. To the degree that he has come to consciousness, his attitude is responsible for the results which circumstances produce upon him. The majority of the oppressed are still ignorant of the inner life, and of the law of individuality. Environment is a powerful factor in all evolution. Freedom and conscious self-development come with the social conditions which make them possible. If the oppressor be enlightened and the oppressed ignorant, the oppressor is at fault.

The question of justice is therefore too large to engage us here.\* We are primarily concerned with the possibilities put before the self-conscious soul. The soul's conditions we must at present be content to call the raw material of experience, whose beginning must concern us at another time. But whatever the material, however severe the experience, the soul can begin to evolve out of it, the moment genuine enlightenment begins.

Instead of complaining at one's lot, heaping blame and abuse upon one's employer or ruler, instead of seeking escape

\* I shall discuss this question in a later issue of *The Arena*.

from oppression by running away from it or by forced external methods, the method of the inner life would be: Formulate the higher ideal, aspire, seek the inner kingdom, believe that changed circumstance are coming to you, create them in thought, hold firmly to them, and cultivate an attitude of mind tending to invite them. Meanwhile, learn all that the present circumstances can teach. Philosophize about them each day. Concentrate your energy within, instead of wasting it in anathemas and the application of physical force.

The reformation of society, the perfecting of the race, depends upon each individual. Each soul must understand, each soul must find its own method of adjustment to society. Never will the millennium come by legislative, artificial, and leveling methods. True equality is liberty for each individual to become truly himself, fully express himself; and individual self-expression necessarily begins from within. The individual is far more likely to command the conditions of equality, if he first understands what they are to mean *for him*, than by joining some movement to compel them to be granted before he truly understands and deserves them.

In that sacred inner world whence all creative power rises, there is a Wisdom, a Love, a Power that will lead and prepare the way. Trust that. Commend yourself to that. Seek its presence; seek its inspirations. Ask whither it is tending, what it desires of you. Try to harmonize your life with its promptings. And set apart periods of waiting, in silence and receptivity; dedicate your life anew to its service, to its beauty, its peace, and its love. Thus shall the inner life enlarge into the larger social life, the life of sympathy and coöperation. Thus shall the individual discover the true meaning of his life with God.

Our reasoning therefore compels us to brand as one-sided, inadequate, egoistic, any doctrine of the inner life which concerns itself merely with the individual, with methods of self-contemplation and mere thought. We shall have a generation of self-complacent individualists, if the practice of "entering the silence" be carried to excess. Indifferentism



is a sure consequence of the placid belief that all one need to do is to *wait* until all things fall into harmony by their own gravitation. Constructive coöperation is the higher law,—individual contribution to the welfare of society. The inner life reveals the higher activity, the wiser method of reform. But, I repeat and repeat again,—

“All are needed by each one  
Nothing is fair or good alone.”

HORATIO W. DRESSER.

*Boston.*

FROM THE WESTERN SHORE.

MR. HUNTINGTON ON EDUCATION.

UNDER this head, in pursuance of The Arena's policy of a broad and liberal Americanism untrammelled by the traditions and conventions that have so long denied proper place and relation to the thought and life of the newer America, so essential to any comprehension of the real America of our day, it is my purpose to present each month a rapid and running review of public affairs and interests on the Pacific Coast. The special phases and features of our common American problem of the democratic life, which are presented by this young and vigorous part of the country, it is believed may be of exceptional interest to the general reading public in the east as well as in the west. Here on this sunset shore we find a typical instance of the civil and industrial enterprise and struggle involved in what Whitman calls “this puzzle, the New World.” In the efforts here made, wise or unwise, to bring this “puzzle” to a definite and tolerable solution, we may read out lessons valuable to socio-

logical students and thinking men on either side of the Sierras. To make what is presented in these pages thus valuable in a general way will be kept steadily in view. Having accepted responsibility for this special feature of *The Arena*, my purpose is to utilize the opportunity in behalf of whatever is vitally essential for the development of our western community toward a true and generous greatness. California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada — these constitute the field, an empire of unlimited possibilities. Their institutions, their energies and resources, their men and women — these are the potencies with which we have to deal.

Fortunately, this brief review of movements and events of national importance, as they appear against the Coast horizon, will be supplemented by able pens. It will be found that the contributions of these California writers will possess human interest of the largest, both for their clear, fresh elucidation of problems of the day and for a certain original and characteristic perception and treatment reflecting the as yet dimly understood influences in the mental and spiritual realm of the sunny clime and luxuriant beauty of the lands that skirt our Pacific shore. Professor Brown, of the University of California, gives us a delightful taste of this quality in his article on "National Unity" in this issue of *The Arena*. In the special field of education Professor Brown's paper will be followed by articles from others not less prominent and active; articles entitled, therefore, to wide attention.

The western coast has appreciated the honor of having the National Educational Association come hither for its annual session. Unquestionably the deliberations of this notable gathering and the enthusiasm which it engendered, cannot fail to advance the cause of education in this section. But, having listened to the wisdom of the wise men in the Educational Association, the fact remains that the most notable of recent utterances upon the subject of education is that of our great railroad magnate, C. P. Huntington, which has called forth a discussion almost as voluminous as that anent *The Man with the Hoe*.

Here we have an American of the largest practical success censuring the methods and complaining of the results of our American system of education, and inferentially attributing his own success to his lack of such education as our colleges provide. After criticizing France for "forcing the young in order to prepare them for the government service," and quoting with approval the protest of the Emperor William against the German schools for "turning out more learning than is good for the nation at large, and more than is good for the individual," Mr. Huntington proceeds to deprecate "the increase of the higher education for the masses" in America. In explanation of his views, he says :

"While the preparation for professional life requires advanced knowledge, it seems to me that the vast majority of our young people spend too many of their vigorous years of youth inside the schoolroom, and not enough in the practical work of life. The years from fifteen to twenty-one are immensely valuable, for they are the years of keen observation, individuality, and confidence. In many cases—quite too many—they are spent in cramming the mind with knowledge that is not likely to help a young man in the work he is best fitted to do. How many young men with college educations are standing about waiting for something that will never come, because the work that lies nearest at hand is not to their liking. Somehow or other our schools, which teach young people how to talk, do not teach them how to live. People need little, but want much. Since I have come to California one-third of my daily mail is made up of appeals for help, and these calls are about equally divided between requests for contributions to help pay off debts and mortgages which should not have been contracted, and applications of young men out of work. . . . It seems to me that slowly, but surely, there is growing up a stronger and stronger wall of caste, with good honest labor on one side, and frivolous gentility on the other. We seem to be fast outgrowing those things which, when our fathers lived, were called sterling qualities, but now are called follies, or work that a gentleman should not do; as though all honest work is not honorable work."

These remarks touch on what is unquestionably one of the great problems of democratic civilization. I confess to a gen-

eral sympathy with Mr. Huntington's rebuke of the growing spirit of caste, and with his strictures on the schools, if it be indeed true that education, as we know it in America, tends to create a distaste or a genteel contempt for "good honest labor." I am not so sure, however, that the "wall of caste," to which reference is made, is the work of education. It is easy to assume that the school advantages enjoyed impartially in our country are directly responsible; but, as matter of fact, the strongest walls of such caste distinctions are found in countries and in times in which the masses are without school privileges, and only the few are academically trained. Moreover, it has been pointed out by learned sociologists that the spread of education is the one strongest influence tending to preserve the sense and the fact of social equality in America. Nevertheless, Mr. Huntington's utterance is an echo of a superficial judgment very generally held by men of culture, as to the cause for the deprecated tendency in our country. But the desire to escape the yoke of common toil, the love of leisurely refinement, and the predilection for gentility and *delicatesse* are not referable directly to the increase of knowledge and mental discipline. This diagnosis is superficial and incomplete. The disease lies deeper, and is of a far more general character. It permeates, and to a large extent vitiates, our entire system of life and all our institutions, educational and other. That a man should prefer to be a railroad magnate rather than a section-hand, or a college professor rather than a gardener, or a leader of the city's society rather than a night sweeper in its streets, is not traceable to the multiplication table and the English grammar, nor even to psychology and literary criticism. The preference exists even in the absence of these acquisitions and disciplines. To be sure, knowledge and intellectual training may help one to realize his choice and gratify his ambition. But his education is not the immediate source of suggestion and incitement as toward a career of exceptional success or the life of a leisured gentleman.

It follows that the remedy which Mr. Huntington suggests

would not reach the root of the ailment. He would have the higher education withheld from the masses, and would have "the vast majority of our young people" spend fewer years in the schoolroom. He would have them disciplined rather in the "practical work of life." Now this would be merely to abridge for the masses the means and facilities for a successful struggle for exceptional place and power; it would not demolish that "wall of caste" of which complaint is made. It would be a discrimination against the "majority of our young people," with a view to holding them perforce in the common ranks. If Mr. Huntington really believes in the essential purports of democracy, he should have counseled thus, namely: that *all* our young people should be kept at school up to the age, say, of twenty years, with a view to a broad and liberal education upon general lines; and also, and at the same time, *all* should be disciplined to life's practical obligations and tasks. This would call for a considerable modification of our present educational system. It would require us to cease from that "cramming of the mind" against which Mr. Huntington rightly protests, — the crowding of it, that is, with unused intellectual furniture and bric-a-brac. The schools would have to curb their ambition to overtone and unduly furbish the youthful mind. Then, further, it would be necessary to provide systematically for the practical side of education, for instruction in applied knowledge. In lieu of this, we must shorten the daily school hours and encourage, or even demand, if that be feasible, the employment of all school children in moderate practical tasks at home or elsewhere. This should mean the suppression of that terrible curse, child-labor, with long and regular hours of grinding toil, and the substitution for it of only a wholesome discipline of all children to usefulness and practical skill. This policy would in itself go far to weaken the "wall of caste," inasmuch as it would familiarize all our youth with the idea that labor is, in such a world as ours, both a duty and an honor. That is a fine and readily accepted phrase with which Mr. Huntington graced his speech, that "all honest

work is honorable." There are few voices to dispute this sentiment, but the trouble is that not all honest work is *honored*. For example, it is safe to affirm that among the numerous guests invited to the Southern Pacific banquet not one is now earning his living by manual labor. And if, by some sudden turn of fate's wheel, all the gentlemen who were present, and who applauded Mr. Huntington's words, were compelled to resort to manual toil for their support, every one of them would feel it to be a dire misfortune, and this especially and particularly because they know it would mean a forfeiture of their social standing. It is an easy dictum of smooth-flowing speech which proclaims the honorableness of all honest labor; but when it comes to the bestowment of social honor, the line is carefully drawn to exclude certain kinds of labor. This is something which education does not govern and cannot change. Nothing can change it except such social and industrial reconstruction as shall mete out to honest labor, of whatever nature, just, impartial, and adequate reward.

EDWARD B. PAYNE.

*San Francisco.*

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### WHEN YOU I BEHELD.

WHEN you I beheld, far over the trees,  
All bare of their branches, there floated a breeze  
Of perfume and summer, of flowers and bees —  
When you I beheld!

When you I beheld, the care and the strife  
Were counted as nothing; for me a new life  
Sprang up at your bidding, and music was rife —  
When you I beheld!

When you I beheld, the years that were dead  
Came hand in hand homeward, and each, blushing red,  
Dreamed once more of springtime, their agony fled —  
When you I beheld!

RUTH WARD KAHN.

*Leadville, Colo.*



## THE HOUR AND THE WOMAN.

A Woman — in so far as she beholdeth  
Her one Beloved's face;  
A Mother — with a great heart that enfoldeth  
The children of the Race:

A body free and strong with that high beauty  
That comes of perfect use, is built thereof:  
A mind where Reason ruleth over Duty  
And Justice reigns with Love.

A self-poised royal soul, brave, wise and tender,  
No longer blind and dumb;  
A Human Being, of an unknown splendor  
Is she who is to come.

—Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

PERHAPS to no one more than to the writer herself are these prophetic lines applicable, though she aimed to picture only her ideal woman. To arrive even in a remote degree at the realization of one's ideals is, in itself, a distinction that compels admiration and inspires reverence. The human craving to find in poet and philosopher a living embodiment and exponent of the thought flashed upon one's consciousness, is well satisfied in Charlotte Perkins Stetson, whose word and work are synonymous.

For a number of years the original verse of Mrs. Stetson has been floating about in the newspapers, which, with all their faults, are more or less fair records of the upward thought and movement that show at what point of recognition we are in our march of human progress. It did not matter that the now world-famed poem, "Similar Cases," was first printed in a periodical of limited circulation among a few radical thinkers who dared to aspire to a higher order of life than is possible in the existing state of things. It did not matter that "The Nationalist" itself went down before the adverse winds that have wrecked many other brave crafts setting sail for the port of Freedom. This poem that first took passage in the ship-of-war,—which by the way, went down only to rise with ten-fold power in other forms — has since

made its world voyage on its own strong, bright wings, claiming swift recognition even with the "Neolithic Man," who is sufficiently susceptible to its truth and humor to appreciate the satire on his own "clinching argument," and to give hope that he, too, in the slow evolution of the race, will "have to change his nature."

Other poems of equal force and brilliancy, over the same signature, have, from time to time, appealed to our slumbering sense of truth and justice in respect to common customs which we had accepted without thought; as things to be regretted, perhaps, but still endured. The keen, delicate lance that with one dart pierces to the very center of sores that we have kept covered, has been felt many times through the poems, under various familiar titles, which have come to us in fragmentary ways during the last half dozen years. To find them collected in the first pamphlet editions sent out from San Francisco in 1893 and 1895, was a real delight which lost nothing in flavor to some of her admirers because they could be shared with others for a half dollar. A more expensive, revised, and enlarged edition has been issued within the last year. It is called "In This Our World," and in it Mrs. Stetson's admirers will find new claimants for favor.

But just now our business is with Mrs. Stetson's latest work, "Women and Economics,"\* a philosophic study of the economic relations between men and women — a study which aims, as the author says in her preface — "To show how some of the worst evils under which we suffer, evils long supposed to be inherent and ineradicable in our natures, are but the result of certain arbitrary conditions of our own adoption; and how, by removing those conditions, we may remove the resultant."

The primal evil which Mrs. Stetson points out in our social life, is the economic dependence of woman on the sex-relation. From this false and unnatural position, sanctioned by human law and sustained for centuries as an inviolable

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\* "Women and Economics, a Study of the Economic Relations Between Men and Women as a Factor in Social Evolution." By Charlotte Perkins Stetson. Crown 8vo, pp. 340, Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

custom, has proceeded the multitude of social perversions which the present age has set about eradicating by this, that, and the other so-called reform. While granting that the sexuo-economic relation has had its use in the earlier evolutionary stages of humanity, the time has come, in the view of Mrs. Stetson, for a radical change in the status of woman who can no longer find her sole environment in man.

"The inevitable trend of human life," she says, "is toward a higher civilization; but while that civilization is confined to one sex, it inevitably exaggerates sex-distinction until the increasing evil of this condition is stronger than all the good of the civilization attained, and the nation falls. Civilization, be it understood, does not consist in the acquisition of luxuries. Social development is an organic development. A civilized state is one in which the citizens live in organic industrial relations. . . .

"The sexuo-economic relation serves to bring social development to a certain level. After that level is reached a higher relation must be adopted, or the lifting process comes to an end; and either the race succumbs to the morbid action of its own forces, or some fresher race comes in and begins the course of social evolution anew. Under the stimulus of the sexuo-economic relation one civilization after another has climbed up and fallen down in weary succession. It remains for us to develop a newer, better form of sex-relation and of economic relation therewith, and so grasp the fruits of all previous civilizations and grow on to the beautiful results of higher ones. The true and lasting social progress beyond that which we have yet made, is based on a spirit of inter-human love, not merely the inter-sexual, and it requires an economic machinery organized and functioned for human needs. The sexuo-economic relation drives man up to where he can become fully human. It deepens and develops the human soul until it is able to conceive and fulfil the larger social uses in which our further life must find expression. But, unless the human soul sees these new forces, feels them, gives way to them in loyal service, it fails to reach the level from which all further progress must proceed and falls back. Again and again society has so risen, so failed to grasp new duties, so fallen back.

"Today it will not so fall again, because the social con-

sciousness is at last so vital a force, in both men and women, that we feel clearly our human life cannot be lived on sex-lines only. We are so far individualized, so far socialized, that men can work without the spur of exaggerated sex-stimulus, work for some one besides mate and young, and women can love and serve without the slavery of economic dependence—love better and serve more. Sex-stimulus begins and ends in individuals. The social spirit is a larger thing, a better thing, and brings with it a larger, nobler life than we could know on a sex-basis solely."

It must not be supposed that Mrs. Stetson's clear and sustained argument militates at any point against marriage in its truer and diviner sense. On the contrary, the whole trend of her reasoning is towards such freedom, such independence, as shall make possible between the individual man and woman a union based on the highest sentiment of love and social use, rather than on the low, common plane of selfish passion and economic dependence. None too scathing is the scorn and shame with which the lower and baser motives of marriage, so-called, are held up to our view by this bold, logical thinker who fearlessly strips the illusion of false sentiment from what passes in the world as love and wedlock. The process may be a little startling, but the flash of light which penetrates and riddles the sham, reveals to us all the more clearly the beauty and perfection of the true.

It is not a fair treatment of "Women and Economics" to give its bald, bare statements, wrested from the chain of argument that harmonizes and shows the logical sequence and consistency of its conclusions. The best that can be done is to ask every reader to lay aside all preconceived views and prejudices on the particular subject in hand, and to bring to the study a calm, impartial spirit of inquiry that does not shrink from admitting truths even when they undermine the long-cherished theories and beliefs of heredity and education.

The conventional thinker will inevitably be shocked by Mrs. Stetson's ungloved handling of a relation which has been from time immemorial regarded as, on the one hand, sacred

and beautiful, or, on the other, wanton and unmentionable. But it is sometimes necessary to be shocked before we can be moved to that dispassionate, unbiased consideration which will qualify us to distinguish between the real and the fictitious value of time-honored customs and institutions. A great step is gained by the woman who reads this book, if she catch a glimpse of larger horizons, and begins to realize that any personal love which limits her vision to mere temporal ends and fills her life with doubt, anxiety, anguish, fear, dissatisfaction, and unrest, is unworthy of the name of love, and must either be lifted to a higher plane or be set aside altogether. What Byron calls "the blind necessity of loving" does not compel any human being to merge all individual hopes and aspirations and possibilities in the unsympathetic sphere of another life when from every side comes the appeal of nobler objects for which to live and toil and sacrifice, the demand for the larger good that embraces and benefits all.

In this affirmation there is not a breath of irreverence for love and marriage in the truer sense. Rather is there a declaration of freedom to reject the false and meretricious, and to exalt the real and abiding union of man and woman, founded not on the mere selfish and external relations, but on the deeper spiritual sympathy and purposes that find in each the impelling force of larger inspiration and accomplishment.

No doubt, on this point, the author of "Women and Economics" has yet a further and fuller word to speak. She is too thorough an evolutionist to stop on the threshold of a subject which she has here barely opened to the shocked eyes of the conservative thinker, satisfied with a form that has no in-breathing power of life and substance.

When Mrs. Stetson has waited long enough for the storm of protest against her radical utterance to subside, we shall look for the reconciling and fulfilling word of which this book is but the *avant courier* — a sort of John Baptist, in wild skins, going before to stir the "Neolithic Mind" which is crying:

This is chimerical! Utopian! absurd!

There is another problem connected with this profound subject which some of us do not find settled by the brilliant argument that makes "Women and Economics" what one of its critics has called "the book of the age," and another has named "a force that must at last be reckoned with."

The question of economic independence for women is one very difficult to dispose of in a day when strong able-bodied men go about the streets begging for work that shall save them from the almshouse or the penitentiary.

It is true that Mrs. Stetson gives us in high light the ideal picture of that kingdom of righteousness in which every member of the human family shall have an equal place and opportunity for the development of individual powers of use and happiness.

This, indeed, is the end toward which all earnest, sincere workers are striving. But not until the industrial world is re-organized and resystematized upon the platform of the golden rule, can woman enter upon her career of absolute economic independence without adding to the accumulated train of evils in the mad struggle, when every hand clutches at both its own and its brother's portion. Possibly, to anticipate the best, the sudden assumption of every woman to economic freedom and industrial rights might precipitate the revolution which is to usher in that reign of "peace and good will" forecast by all the prophets.

Meantime no woman in sexual relations need consider herself a dependent on such relation. The matter is in her own hands. When she makes her own individual law in the sex-union it will be respected. For the rest, if she will follow her highest convictions of right, without too many words about it, she will arrive at a clearer vision of her own place and power. It is certainly not the man's place and power. It is a new insight, a new impulse that we want and not the accumulated force, in the same direction, of women acting as men.

Mrs. Stetson herself, is giving a fine example of free womanhood in following her own high ideals, with a sincerity and



directness that wins the admiration of even those who do not agree with her.

As a masculine critic \* remarks, "No one can easily overpraise the vigor, the clearness, and the acuteness of her writing." And he adds, "She writes, indeed, like a man, and like a very logical and very able man."

This is a mistake. She writes simply like Charlotte Perkins Stetson, a woman who, in the school of experience, has learned her lessons, not automatically from the text-books of custom and tradition, but with spiritual insight and a keen analytical sense that penetrates to the heart of things, — that insists on a reason for existing conditions, as well as upon the logical process of reaching a higher state. If there are errors in her vision she will be swift to acknowledge them when discovered, for truth is what she seeks. Unquestionably she brings to her study of human life the force and vigor and independence derived from the strong ancestral Beecher stock from which she springs; for the powerful influence and direction of heredity cannot be denied even with our higher claims to heredity from God. Added to a noble birthright, a wise training has given to the world a woman of individual character; one free enough and brave enough to speak her honest understanding and judgment on a matter which the world of modern men and women have accepted without thought, or with finger prudishly pressed on lips that murmur secretly over conditions regarded as inevitable and unalterable while nature endures.

To some persons — perhaps to the majority — there appears a certain hardness and rudeness of touch in Mrs. Stetson's treatment of wifehood and motherhood, which is instinctively resented. But a closer study of her attitude toward these relations will reveal an unusual reverence for all that is deepest, purest, and holiest in them. It is only the false sentiment that is riddled and cast out in her keen analyzing process. As a revelation of the spirit of true motherhood turn to the not too familiar :

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\* Prof. Harry Thurston Peck, in "The Cosmopolitan."

## MOTHER TO CHILD.

How best can I serve thee, my child, my child,  
 Flesh of my flesh and dear heart of my heart!  
 Once thou wast within me — I held thee — I fed thee —  
 By the force of my loving and longing I led thee —  
     Now we are apart!

I may blind thee with kisses, and crush with embracing,  
 Thy warm mouth in my neck, our arms interlacing,  
 But here in my body my soul lives alone,  
 And thou answerest me from a house of thine own —  
     The house which I builded!

Which we builded together, thy father and I —  
 In which thou must live, O my darling, and die!  
 Not one stone can I alter, not one atom relay,  
 Not to save or defend thee, or help thee to stay,  
     That gift is completed!

How best can I serve thee? O child if thou knew  
 How my heart aches with loving! How deep and how true,  
 How brave and enduring, how patient and strong,  
 How longing for good, and how fearful of wrong  
     Is the love of thy mother!

Could I crown thee with riches! Surround, overflow thee  
 With fame and with power till the whole world should  
     know thee;  
 With wisdom and genius to hold the world still,  
 To bring laughter and tears, joy and pain at thy will —  
     Still — *thou* mightst not be happy!

Such have lived — and in sorrow. The greater the mind,  
 The wider and deeper the grief it can find;  
 The richer, the gladder, the more thou canst feel  
 The keen stings that a lifetime is sure to reveal,  
     O my child! Must thou suffer?

Is there no way my life may save thine from a pain?  
 Is the love of a mother no possible gain?  
 No labor of Hercules — search for the Grail —  
 No way for this wonderful love to avail?  
     God in Heaven — Oh, teach me!

My prayer has been answered, the pain thou must bear,  
 Is the pain of the world's life, which thy life must share.  
 Thou art one with the world — though I love thee the best;  
 And to save thee from pain I must save all the rest,  
     Well — with God's help I'll do it!

Thou art one with the rest, I must love thee in them,  
Thou wilt sin with the rest and thy mother must stem  
The world's sin. Thou wilt weep — and thy mother must dry  
The tears of the world lest her darling should cry.

I will do it — God helping!

And I stand not alone, I will gather a band,  
Of all loving mothers from land unto land,  
Our children are part of the world! Do you hear?  
They are one with the world, we must hold them all dear.

Love all for the child's sake!

For the sake of my child I must hasten to save,  
All the children on earth from the jail and the grave,  
For so, and so only, I lighten the share  
Of the pain of the world that my darling must bear —  
Even so, and so only.

When we have a race of mothers entering fully into the spirit of this poem, then we shall have taken indeed a long step toward that divine order of love which is the end of all our human striving. So far from undervaluing the vocation of maternity, which has been conceded as the one unquestioned right of womanhood, it must be acknowledged by even her severest critics, that Mrs. Stetson exalts and broadens the office and power of motherhood. But there must be the condition of free, brave womanhood to insure such a race of mothers.

However distant may appear the day when the principles of "Woman and Economics" shall be put to a practical test, we may congratulate ourselves on the impulse to thought which has been given by the book. It is well to consider all possible underlying causes of unhappy conditions which are bewailed, but accepted as the mysterious providences of an inscrutable Law. For the rest each must determine individually in how far he or she may give unqualified support to any radical movement toward a higher social state. It remains to be seen whether women, more than men, will resist this relentless attack on the time-honored institution of marriage as a means of livelihood, vested as it is, with the sacred rites of the holiest of compacts. But all changes from lower to higher

levels are pushed by the power of thought, and if the sex relation is lifted, in common perception, from the sensual plane, and made to stand in its true character for something greater than mere worldly considerations, then the author of "Women and Economics," by her bold stroke, will have contributed her share to the upward impetus.

ANNIE L. MUZZEY.

*Joliet, Ill.*

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### THE SOCIAL REFORM UNION.

THE Union Reform League, described in the July Arena, has become THE SOCIAL REFORM UNION, and with a greatly enlarged scope. The change was made at the Buffalo Conference. The new name and the new platform were adopted by the convention without a dissenting vote. This makes the new platform the most important reform platform in the land, since it is one on which all schools of reform are united. At the Buffalo Conference there were socialists and individualists, single taxers and prohibitionists, men and women of all parties and of every school of thought. Yet, after four days of economic discussion, this platform received not one negative vote. It shows that the reform forces are more united than was thought. The following is the new platform:—

1. Direct legislation and proportional representation.
2. Public ownership of public utilities.
3. Public revenue from taxes on land values and (for the time being) on franchises, inheritances, incomes.
4. Money (gold, silver, or paper) to be issued by government only, a full legal tender, and in quantity sufficient to maintain the normal average of prices.
5. Anti-militarism.

Upon this new platform it was voted to build a great national organization, like the Union Reform League, but to be called the Social Reform Union. Such an organization was

actually begun July 4, and the following long list of representative officers elected :—

## PRESIDENT.

W. D. P. Bliss, Alhambra, Cal.

## SECRETARIES.

Eltweed Pomeroy, New Jersey.  
 Prof. Frank Parsons, Massachusetts.  
 Prof. Edward Bemis, Illinois.

## TREASURER.

N. O. Nelson, Missouri.

## VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Henry D. Lloyd, Illinois.  
 Prof. George D. Herron, Iowa.  
 Mayor S. M. Jones, Ohio.  
 Bishop F. D. Huntington, New York.  
 William Dean Howells, New York.  
 Ex-Gov. St. John, Kansas.  
 Eugene V. Debs, Indiana.  
 Gov. C. S. Thomas, Colorado.  
 Mrs. Anna L. Diggs, Kansas.  
 Hon. Geo. Fred Williams, Massachusetts.  
 Gov. Hazen S. Pingree, Michigan.  
 Samuel Gompers, District of Columbia.  
 Edwin Markham, California.  
 Senator Marion Butler, North Carolina.  
 Laurence Gronlund, New York.  
 Mrs. Corrinne S. Brown, Illinois.  
 Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson, New York.  
 Judge Frank Dorter, Kansas.  
 Hon. Frank Burkett, Missouri.  
 John S. Crosby, New York.  
 Mrs. Josephine K. Henry, Kentucky.  
 George E. McNeill, Massachusetts.  
 Hon. Barnett Gibbs, Texas.  
 Jos. R. Buchanan, New York.

Mrs. Catherine M. Severance, California.  
 Judge Walter Clark, N. Carolina.

Ex-Gov. John P. Altgeld, Illinois.  
 Bolton Hall, New York.  
 Booker T. Washington, Alabama.  
 E. P. Wheeler, New York.  
 B. Fay Mills, Massachusetts.  
 J. R. Sovereign, Idaho.  
 Gov. J. R. Rodgers, Washington.  
 Edwin D. Mead, Massachusetts.  
 Gov. D. W. Jones, Arkansas.  
 J. A. Wayland, Kansas.  
 Hon. J. J. Lentz, Ohio.  
 George Howard Gibson, Georgia.  
 Rev. William S. Rainsford, New York.

Mrs. Florence Kelley, Illinois.  
 R. S. Thompson, Ohio.  
 Mayor J. D. Phelan, California.  
 James B. Reynolds, New York.  
 Hon. Charles H. Goakum, Texas.  
 Robert Franklin, Kentucky.  
 W. L. Peek, Georgia.  
 Edmund L. Cocke, Virginia.  
 Judge B. L. D. Guffey, Kentucky.

## MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES.

*Executive Committee.*

F. D. Jones,	Los Angeles, Cal.
Dr. J. R. Haynes,	" "
W. H. Knight,	" "
Hon. R. A. Dague,	" "
Frank Williams,	" "
George S. Hewes,	" "
William H. Stephens,	" "
Nathan Cole, Jr.,	" "
William F. Burbank,	" "
A. R. Sprague,	" "
W. D. Gould,	" "
E. L. Hutchinson,	" "
W. L. Moore,	" "
W. C. Pitchner,	" "
Frederick Baker,	" "

*National Committee.*

Alabama, Dr. G. B. Crowe, Birmingham.  
 Arkansas, W. S. Morgan, Hardy.  
 Colorado, Dr. Persifor M. Cook, Denver.  
 California, Burdett Cornell, Oakland.  
 District of Columbia, Miss Jennie Monroe, Washington.  
 Florida, F. M. Sprague, Tampa.  
 Georgia, Dr. S. J. McKnight, Dalton.  
 Illinois, James H. Ferris, Joliet.  
 Indiana, C. M. Walters, Indianapolis.  
 Iowa, Dr. Geo. A. Gates, Grinnell.  
 Kansas, John W. Breidenthal, Topeka.  
 Kentucky, J. A. Parker, Louisville.  
 Louisiana, President Dillon, —.  
 Massachusetts, George F. Washburn, Boston.  
 Minneapolis, J. C. Hanley, St. Paul.  
 Michigan, G. R. Malone, Lansing.  
 Mississippi, R. K. Prewitt, Ackerman.

Missouri, F. E. Richey, St. Louis.  
 Montana, J. H. Hogan, Helena.  
 Nebraska, Prof. C. Vincent, Omaha.  
 Nevada, H. H. Hogan, Reno.  
 New Hampshire, F. R. G. Gordon, Manchester.  
 New York, C. B. Matthews, Buffalo.  
 New Jersey, G. H. Strobbsell, Newark.  
 Ohio, M. A. Neff, Cincinnati.  
 Oklahoma, R. E. Bray, Enid.  
 Pennsylvania, Dr. C. F. Taylor, Philadelphia.  
 Rhode Island, George Farnell, Providence.  
 South Dakota, W. E. Kidd, Aberdeen.  
 Tennessee, W. I. Williams, Courtville.  
 Texas, Milton Park, Dallas.  
 Utah, L. E. Hall, Salt Lake City.  
 Washington, Griffith Davis, Seattle.  
 West Virginia, George L. Spence, Parkersburg.  
 Wyoming, John McNair, Sheridan.

It is too early to speak definitely of the plans of the new union, but it is proposed to go to work with energy and on a large scale. A fund of \$5,000 will be at once raised to push the plan. Four national organizers will be put in the field, with salaries enabling them to give all their time to the work. One will be in the east, one in the south, one in the central-west, and one on the Pacific Coast. They will enroll organizers in each state. Tracts and pamphlets will be issued on the plan suggested for the Union Reform League last month. The first of these, a study of Direct Legislation by Prof. John R. Commons, will appear in *The Arena* next month. There will be two series of tracts, one on *What We Want*; the other on *How to Get It*. One tract of each series will appear each month. The cost for each series will be 50 cents a year. Subscriptions for either



series, or for both, can be sent to any secretary or to the President, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, Alhambra, Cal. Pledges are also desired from 400 persons who will give \$1 per month to organize this great work. It means no less than the union of the reform forces of the United States. It is impossible to start a new party now; but if we unite now for the great idea, the great party will appear later.

W. D. P. BLISS,  
*President.*

"LIZ."

SHE was nobody's child. She grew up in the gutter down in the east end of London. She was not even good-looking, and her only name was Liz.

When she took passage on the "Eclipse," the clerk entered her on the list of emigrants as Liz Smith.

Somehow or other, Liz had lately discovered a conscience. She did not know how it had happened. Perhaps it was the sight of the salvation army, then in its infancy, marching through the streets amidst the jeers and stones and mud of the crowd. Something touched her heart and opened her eyes to the fact that her mode of life was far from perfect. She was too self-reliant to seek sympathy or ask advice, even if anyone had taken enough interest in her to proffer advice; but, after days of introspection and self-accusation, she made up her mind to emigrate, to get away from it all and make a new start. So she took passage on the "Eclipse," just about to sail for Queensland.

Liz went on board without any leave-taking, nor did she carry much baggage. She wore her faded cotton gown and an old plaid shawl, which served both for hat and cloak, while her few belongings were tied up in a colored cotton handkerchief. Most of the other emigrant girls were highly respectable, at least in their own estimation. Liz was vulgar

in her appearance, her language was coarse, and she bore the inevitable stamp of a low life; they would not associate with her.

Poor Liz had a hard time during the first part of the voyage, for though her many little acts of kindness towards the girls who were seasick were gratefully received at the moment, yet those who would have been friendly were restrained by others who were less merciful, even if not entirely beyond criticism themselves.

The Bay of Biscay was passed with its rough weather, and as the genial warmth of the sun, the blue skies, and the glittering waves tempted the people to the decks, little cliques were formed among the emigrants, and society was established very much as it would have been in any country village, except that there was no communication permitted between the single women and the single men, who were quartered at opposite ends of the ship. The married women took upon themselves the regulation of society, and criticized both single men and women, and their own and each others' husbands, and advised each other as to the bringing up of each others' children. The families would mingle on the main deck in the waist of the ship, the men smoking, playing cards, telling stories, swearing, or singing hymns, while their wives busied themselves with sewing and gossip, and the children sought new and ever more enchanting forms of mischief.

There was a fat, good-natured Frenchman, a harmless drudge, who went by the name of Dominique. Nobody knew his other name. Mrs. Dominique, his spouse, ruled everything within her orbit. She ruled Dominique and the children, and to the rest of the emigrants she laid down the law on all matters of domestic duty and social deportment. When any of Mrs. Dominique's children got into mischief, which happened about once in every ten minutes, Mr. Dominique was taken to task, and ordered to catch and bring forward the offender to her for substantial reproof.

Mondays were washing days on board the "Eclipse," and one

Monday, Dominique innocently drew a few buckets of water for Liz. He was good-natured and gallant, and did not like to see the poor girl working hard to do that which he could do so easily. Now Mrs. Dominique was very jealous of her husband, and, on hearing of his act of gallantry, she proceeded to make life a burden to him, at the same time declaring her undying hatred of "that low hussy."

Liz was not one to quail before such an attack, and as she was able to give a liberal discount even to Mrs. Dominique in the matter of vocabulary, there were thrilling scenes at times. During these Dominique's fat face assumed a troubled expression, and he generally waddled off to look for the children, of whom there were five, the eldest being just six years old. This little excitement brought Liz into prominence, and as a result, in spite of her many crudities, she made some friends. She was always ready to do a kind act, and many were the little sacrifices of personal comfort that she made for her fellow-voyagers. Besides which, Mrs. Dominique was not popular.

In due course the "Eclipse" reached the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, caught the westerly winds, and was headed eastward for Australia. The wind increased to a gale, and the ship rolled heavily as she tore along over the huge billows of the mighty southern ocean. Many were the bruises sustained by the emigrants who had not yet acquired the knack of locomotion under such circumstances.

One night Mrs. Dominique slipped as the ship rolled, and was flung across the deck. The doctor was sent for, and she was carried to the hospital, which was in one of the cabins under the poop, for she seemed to be seriously hurt.

The next morning it became known that a new passenger had come on board, and Mr. Dominique smiled blandly as he received the congratulations of his fellow-emigrants. Well might he be pleased, for Mrs. Dominique's annual gift had been presented to him much earlier than he anticipated. Nevertheless, as the days wore on Dominique's face once more assumed the well-known troubled expression, for it

was rumored that matters were not going as well with Mrs. Dominique as one might have hoped. She had sustained a severe nervous shock, and the rolling of the ship was so violent as to be extremely wearisome, even for those who were in the best of health. The married men and women surrounded Dominique when he went between decks, and plied him with questions. The single women talked in whispers down in the steerage, — all except Liz, who sat apart in a state of mind apparently apathetic.

One evening somebody came down below and whispered to the excited girls that Mrs. Dominique had passed into another world. They all gathered round the messenger and listened with bated breath to the details of the matter. The wind screamed and hummed in the rigging, and the waves roared and swashed about on the main deck, while the awe-stricken emigrants huddled together in the steerage and wondered what Dominique would do now to manage his large family.

In the cabin the doctor and the captain were in consultation. A gentle rap was heard on the door, and the next moment Liz stood before them. She let her shawl drop across her arms, clasped her red hands nervously, and waited pale and trembling.

"Well, girl! What do you want?" the doctor asked rather testily, as if he did not relish the interruption.

"Doctor,— Oh, doctor,— I want ter awsk,— is the little baby alive, doctor?"

"Yes, the baby's alive. But, by George, captain! he won't be alive very long. The woman that I've got in there now has her own children to look after."

"Let me 'ave 'im, doctor,— let me take care of 'im," she cried, shaking violently with excitement. Seeing the doctor hesitated, she continued impetuously, "I'll be good ter 'im, doctor, s'elp me Gawd, I will. Let me 'ave 'im, doctor,—"

"Nonsense, woman. What do you know about children? Besides, it wouldn't do at all."

"Oh I knows lots about children, I do; honor bright. I've

minded the kids down the alley when the wimmin went out doin' chores, and I knows lots about 'em. I kin take care of 'im, doctor."

"You'd better go down to your berth again," he remarked, coldly, after looking her over critically from head to foot.

"For the love o' Gawd, doctor, do give me a chawnce," cried Liz, falling on her knees and stretching out her arms in supplication. "I wants ter do somethin' good, doctor. I wants ter start out new, and that's w'y I'm a-goin' ter Horstralia. An' I loves the little kids, doctor, and I'll be like a mother to 'im, I will honest and true, s'elp me."

"You were never any great favorite of hers. I should think you'd want to leave her child alone," said the doctor, thinking of Mrs. Dominique.

"It wasn't no fault of the pore little baby's, doctor. He didn't 'ave nothin' ter do with that, and she's gone now."

"Why don't you try her, doctor?" the captain suggested. "You must have somebody, you know, and I'll guarantee that Liz will be faithful."

So Liz gained her point and devoted herself day and night to the little helpless scrap of humanity. As for Dominique, he had plenty to attend to in the necessities of the other children, in which he received a little help from the sympathetic mothers. But he was only too glad to find anyone,—no matter about antecedents,—who would take the care of his youngest off his hands.

Of course, society was very much scandalized at the idea of the helpless innocent being subjected to the evil influences of such a desperately wicked character as Liz, but as no one else seemed to be able or willing to do anything, and as Liz was now perfectly indifferent to any amount of criticism, matters went on very well. The poor baby, who had made such an inauspicious start in life, did not thrive. Indeed, he could not have been expected to thrive, for though it may be very delightful to the poet to be rocked in the cradle of the deep, yet that cradle is not exactly the place for very tender babes. Neptune's children are generally born pretty

well grown up, and the hoary sea-god sometimes becomes impatient and flings the cradle about roughly,—much too roughly for a tiny infant, particularly in the latitudes which sailors call the “roaring forties.”

That the baby did not thrive was no fault of Liz's for she was thoroughly devoted to him. There was no thought of self,—she had found an occupation, and all the best part of her nature came to the surface. All through the long weeks the “Eclipse” was running down her easting, Liz gave herself up ungrudgingly to the service of her young charge. No white-headed albatross or mollyhawk, nor any flock of beautiful cape pigeons, skimming gracefully above the waves, had any attraction for her. Even the news that an iceberg was in sight was received with stoical indifference. Liz felt that she was doing something definitely good for the first time in her life,—and that was sufficient.

Now and then, when she was on the poop and Bill Thompson was at the wheel, she would say a few words to him, for he was able to tell her something about the new country to which she was going. Bill was not an old man, but in twelve years of sea life he had seen much of the world, and of Australia in particular. He had mined for gold at Ballarat and at Charters Towers, had driven, shorn, and canned sheep, had tramped half across the huge island, and was able to tell Liz a great deal about the ways of the settlers in Queensland; and to put her on her guard, too, for Queensland is not altogether a paradise for the newcomer.

At last the voyage was at an end. The “Eclipse” was towed up the river and made fast to a wharf in Rockhampton. All the men from the surrounding country were in town to see the emigrants land, for the news of the arrival had spread with great rapidity. A passage was roped off from the landing place across the road to the door of the long wooden shed, by courtesy called the immigrant depot, and on each side of this passage, which was guarded by the whole of the Rockhampton police force, stood the motley and expectant multi-



tude. There were householders looking for servants, planters, farmers, and stockmen in search of wives; there were tradesmen in need of assistants, and mechanics hoping to find men of their craft. Lastly, there were men from the diggings and stations up country, who had come down to the coast to spend their earnings and have a carousal; tall, bronzed, bearded men in slouch hats, flannel shirts, and long boots with spurs — coatless and careless.

Through the midst of this crowd the "new chums" filed, carrying their hand baggage and only too glad to see new faces and to joke and chaff with them. At the end of the long stream came Dominique, carrying his year-old child and scolding at the others like an old hen, full of cares. Just in front of him walked Liz with her shawl over her head and the baby in her arms. She looked neither to the right nor to the left, and she had nothing to say to the jocose colonials. She scarcely seemed like the old Liz who came on board the "Eclipse" four months before in a fit of desperate longing to tear herself away from associations which weighed her down, and were fast putting her beyond hope of salvation. Half the battle was now over, and her occupation had already given her an appearance of comparative refinement. The bold, defiant stare was gone and a look of tender solicitude for her helpless charge softened her features.

The "new chums" settled down as best they could. Many of those unhampered by families obtained employment very quickly. Some went up country, and some of the family men set themselves up in business. Rockhampton could not afford lodging to all the crowd, so several families lived in tents just outside the town and others lived in rude shanties hastily built for the purpose. Old Dominique secured an abode of this kind, and having obtained a few boards and some empty barrels, proceeded to furnish his residence by making a rough table, a few seats, and a long bed for his children, in which half the family slept at one end and the rest at the other, Liz having a shake-down on the floor, while the old man slumbered in the kitchen.

Dominique was a tailor by trade, and, as his woes had been well talked of, the kind-hearted people of Rockhampton soon began to bring him work, and the old man was well set up in business before he had been two weeks in the place. Liz lived with the family as a matter of course and acted as housekeeper, nurse, and cook, all of which services were accepted by Dominique with a bland smile and a shrug of the shoulders; for Dominique considered himself a very fine fellow. He was well drilled in domestic matters and would chop wood and fetch water with the intelligent docility of a performing poodle, and, while many people considered that being released from the government of a shrewish wife he must be happy, yet the fact was that he felt like a boy who had run away from school and was in constant expectation of a scolding. He secretly appreciated the controlling mind which had formerly taken from him all responsibilities and allowed him only the one duty of obedience.

The "Eclipse" was about to sail up the coast. She had been in port a month and had discharged all the cargo that was destined for Rockhampton. In honor of her departure the citizens gave a grand ball to the officers and crew. It was about ten o'clock on the night of the ball that Liz sat on the doorstep of Dominique's shanty rocking herself to and fro, sobbing bitterly.

By and by a man emerged from the darkness and approached with the rolling gait of a sailor. When he was within a few feet of her, still unnoticed, he stopped and hesitated a few moments.

"What cheer Liz?" he presently exclaimed in a gruff voice.

"What cheer Bill," she sobbed in reply. "'Ow are yer Bill?" for it was none other than Bill Thompson.

"Oh I'm 'arty Liz, — but 'ow's yerself, and wotcher takin' on about?"

"Oh Lor', Bill, don't talk," Liz responded, rocking herself again. "The little kid's bin and gone and died, Bill, — pore little young 'un!"

"Well, well, gal! yer don't ought to take on so about 'im. He never warn't no 'count. Wonder 'e ever lived at all. Where's old Dominique?"

"'E's gone ter buy a corf'n," she sobbed, "and then they'll come and take the pore little young 'un away. Oh, Bill, I wisht I'd died instead, I do."

"Aw, let bygones be bygones, Liz. The young 'un's a sight better off. 'E's saved hisself a deal o' worry, and Lor', gal, 'e'll never know the diff'rence. Look 'ere, now! I've bin a lookin' fer you down at the ball."

"I don't go to no balls," she said bitterly; and then drawing her shawl round her she added quietly, almost softly, "I'm a-workin' now."

"Well, I 'ope it ain't no 'arm fer me ter come and tell yer as I've left the hooker. She hauls out, ye know, — in the mornin'."

"No, no, — it's good of yer to come, Bill, but I'm feelin' orful bad, I am."

"An' I've got a job ashore here on the wharf!"

"Honor bright?" asked Liz, all attention.

"Yes, and wot's more I'm a-goin' ter settle down and git married."

"That's right, Bill, — that's the right thing ter do. But then I shan't often see yer," she added with a tinge of remorse. "Who's the gal, Bill?"

"That's jest wot I've come ter talk to yer about," he replied.

Bill hitched up his trousers, hooked the quid out of his cheek, with a huge, grimy forefinger, and wiped his mouth with the back of his hairy fist.

"Well, I ain't much of a catch for a gal, ye know, but I've thort as if you'd 'ave me, Liz, — you're the gal."

"Git out! You don't want no one like me. W'y don't yer go and awsk one o' them nice lookin' young gals? There's Annie Owen, and Laura Matthews, and Belle Jownes, — them's the kind for the likes o' you. They're all good gals, too, — w'ich I ain't," she added, drawing her shawl round her again.

"Look at 'ere, Liz. I ain't foolin' with this 'ere job. I don't want none o' them hornamental pieces as come out 'ere just coz they wanted ter git married, — there's plenty round as likes that kind. I'm lookin' for a woman as'll make a good wife for a pore man, — one wot knows trouble, and wot 'as a true 'art. That's you, Liz."

"I ain't one as'll make a good wife fer any man. Go and awsk them gals and they'll tell yer I ain't good fer nothink. No, Bill, I've come out 'ere ter start new and I've started. I'm at work now an' I don't want no bluffin' and foolin'."

"S'elp me Bob, Liz, I ain't foolin'. I knows wot I wants, and as fer that — I don't set up ter be no better than you. You cawn't do *me* much 'arm."

After a moment's pause he added, "Come now, Liz, say the word and it's a go. We'll git the parson termorrer, an' I've got a few pounds o' back pay ter set up 'ouse with."

Liz was all huddled up, with her face buried in her hands, and her only reply was a slow shake of the head.

Bill Thompson sat down beside her on the step, put his arm round her waist and gently tried to raise her head.

"Look at here, Liz! 'Taint no one-sided bargain," he said. "Come, Liz."

Liz slowly raised her head, placed one hand on his shoulder and looked him square in the face.

"Honest and true, Bill? No bluffin'?" she asked.

"Honest and true, Liz, — sure as my name's Bill Thompson,"

"Oh, Bill!" she said in a broken voice, "no one's ever been good ter me, — only you. I do love yer, Bill, I do s'elp me, Gawd!" and the tears fell thick and fast on the sailor's tarry overalls as she bent over and kissed his hands.

"Come, come now. Swab up yer scuppers — ye'll be all gormed up with pipin' yer eye," said Bill.

"It's a go then, Liz?" he asked a minute later.

"All right, Bill, it's a go — and I'll be the truest true ter yer, — I will."

Bill Thompson is one of the prosperous citizens of Queens-

land, and he declares that he owes his success to the good management of his wife. When Liz wonders how Bill ever found anything to admire in her, he always says, apologetically, "Well, ye know, it was all along o' that babby of old Dominique's. That's how yer can find out a good woman. It's the 'art as tells the story."

HENRY C. LAHEE.

*Boston.*

## UNDER THE ROSE.

### THE BUFFALO CONFERENCE

Those of us who believe in going forward, who are filled with the divine discontent, and who look for better things, may take heart of grace from the National Conference on Social and Political Reforms, which adjourned July 4 at Buffalo, after five days' sessions. Despite the efforts of a large section of the daily press to belittle the gathering, and to misrepresent its character and its action, I regard it as one of the most notable and inspiring occasions in the history of our country. That socialists and individualists, single taxers and silverites, direct legislationists and green-backers, populists, democrats, and republicans should come together from all parts of the country with the single purpose of emphasizing the demand of the people for radical reform by seeking a practical plan of united action in furtherance of that demand, is in itself immensely significant. Edwin D. Mead, on taking the chair at the opening meeting, fitly characterized the gathering as one of optimists. It was probably the first convention of a political or quasi-political character held in a hundred years, in which there was absolutely no thought of offices, no ax-grinding for personal or

party advantage. It was representative in the best sense of the word; American as the ordinary convention of party wire-pullers and party hacks is not. Such men as Edwin D. Mead, Willis J. Abbott, Edwin Markham, George D. Herron, Fay Mills, W. D. P. Bliss, John C. Crosby, Mayor Jones, H. O. Nelson, Eltweed Pomeroy, Bolton Hall; Breidenthal, Ridgely, and Hoffman, of Kansas; Williams of Massachusetts, Lentz of Ohio, and Professors Commons, Bemis, Doepers, Arnold, Wills, and Ward, mean dignity and power in any meeting or movement. Democratic, too, was the mingling of these notables with the less known but not less earnest and enthusiastic delegates fresh from farms and factories, schools and stores, all over the land. Of course, those who expected that advocates and adherents of any one reform would be induced to abandon that reform in favor of another, were disappointed. The spirit of compromise was conspicuous by its absence. The conference is hardly to be looked on as heralding the millennium. It could not satisfy everybody, and in attempting this it would certainly satisfy nobody. What did it accomplish? If it did nothing more than demonstrate that reformers of widely divergent views could meet and reason together, it would have done much. In addition, it placed itself squarely and substantially on record in opposition to the recent assaults on academic freedom, and established a free school of economics; it adopted a practical plan for a referendum of the independent reform vote, which shall make it possible to unite and make effective at the polls the voice of the people; it established the Social Reform Union, by means of which a most effective engine of enlightenment and propaganda is put in the field to educate and organize the discontented; and, lastly, it adopted an address to the people, which should sound a tocsin of alarm as to the dangers menacing our institutions, with an urgent call to action to all lovers of our country and lovers of freedom. The address, although worded by that splendid prophet of the new day, George D. Herron, was the product of calm and thoughtful consideration and counsel in an excellent Committee on



Resolutions. Only the opposition of a few, who, from first to last, showed themselves to be thoroughly out of sympathy with the spirit and purpose of the conference, prevented the adoption of the address by a unanimous vote. One of these, W. J. Ghent, is primarily responsible for the elaborately framed and circulated attempt to show that the assemblage lacked patriotism because it did not cheer an incidental mention of Dewey's name, in a speech made by Rev. W. H. Thomas against militarism! The fact is, that Dewey's name was applauded repeatedly during the conference before and after this incident. Ghent used to be a good socialist and a member of the Fabian Society, but he has been abroad lately and mistakes ebullient emotion over "splendid victories" for patriotism, to such an extent that he sees nothing but "glory for the American arms" in our slaughter of men fighting for freedom in the Philippines, and in the lawless persecution of striking miners in Idaho by General Merriam. Following Ghent's lead the Rev. Robert Ely, of Cambridge, made a spectacle of himself by interrupting the proceedings and misusing the privilege of the platform to howl for Dewey. Quite unnecessarily this little man was heard constantly explaining that he was *not* Prof. Richard T. Ely. S. E. Moffat, correspondent of the New York Journal, is a bright fellow and his intentions are good, but his natural timidity took alarm at the straightforward and emphatic tone of the address. He thought the indictment of plutocracy and militarism "extreme," and essayed certain deprecatory criticisms which simply suggested that the Committee on Resolutions had not been over careful as to offending the sensibilities of Mark Hanna and Mr. McKinley! But three out of three hundred do not count for much, and before the next conference, in January, 1900, these three may develop sufficiently to blow hot or blow cold — to stand for the people or the "plutes." The speech of the convention, taking all things together, was that of Herbert Casson, in opposition to the organization of a new party. Somewhat sobered and less egotistical than the style to which he has accustomed us,

still unnecessarily bitter, and biting in his sarcasm, perhaps, he yet carried away his hearers by sheer force of earnestness of feeling and force of logic. George Fred Williams, too, seemed to have his hearers with him in his frank and manly advocacy of the democratic party as the logical instrument of political and economic reform. In this connection, it is worth while noting that the reform in which least interest was shown was currency reform. Hardly a word was said in favor of free silver, and "sixteen to one" the shibboleth of '96, was not heard even once in the convention. What interest was shown in the currency question was almost purely academic—a most interesting, although slimly attended, afternoon session being devoted to an able presentation of the advantages of the multiple standard by Dr. C. F. Taylor, of Philadelphia, Major Winne, of Boston, and Professors Parsons, Commons, Wills, and Arnold. The Sunday of the conference was marked by the surrender of the churches of Buffalo to the reformers. Herron, Fay Mills, Crosby, Parsons, Bliss, and Wills delivered splendid sermons, morning and evening, in the fashionable churches, and I preached a steady streak of social righteousness to a congregation of gentle and earnest Christians on the further rim of the respectable end of town. Altogether, this conference was a success,—and the next will be greater.

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#### **POLITICS AND EDUCATION**

Encouraged, no doubt, by President McKinley's flagrant violation of his pledges regarding civil service reform, the republican Board of Regents of the Kansas State Agricultural College have turned out President T. E. Will, and Professors Bemis, Parsons, and Ward, of the faculty of that institution, on account of their political and economic views. An attempt to show maladministration or partisan teaching in the college having completely failed, after a most exhaustive investigation, the Kansas republicans now make no further pretense of other than partisan motive.

Their attitude towards educational standards is openly declared and brazenly boasted. The idea that colleges are places for the teaching of truth is distinctly repudiated by the party in power in Kansas and in the nation. Instead, they proclaim that professorships are "plums" of office quite as much as postmasterships and consulates have been, and that the economic doctrines taught by appointees to professorships must be pleasing to the governor and his henchmen. "To the victors belong the spoils," and when it is a question of partisan advantage, the teaching of the youth of the country is pitilessly prostituted to partisan ends. It is well, however, that the mask has thus been thrown aside and the purposes of the politicians made plain. When the people of Kansas realize the full meaning of this outrage at the State Agricultural College, those responsible for it will be called to account with startling suddenness and unanimity. Not in Kansas alone, but throughout the Union, the manhood of America must rise in condemnation of this wanton debauchery of public education, this attempted assassination of Freedom in the house of her friends. The element now in power in the nation, stands for a ruthless commercialism, whose methods are detested and execrated by self-respecting citizens of all parties. Its impudent assumption of the party name that Lincoln and Sumner, Grant and Garfield glorified, is rightly resented by the decent republicans it is driving out of that party by thousands; crystallizing the democratic party also by its sharp definition of the line separating plutocracy from democracy. This un-American element in the nation now stands not merely accused, but brazenly boastful of the spirit and purposes of which this crime against freedom in education in Kansas is but the logical expression. The brutal provocation of a war to compel our friendly Filipino allies into subjection to a military satrapy, the use of federal troops to terrorize striking miners in Idaho, the appointment of horse doctors as army surgeons, and the distribution of military commissions to incompetents with political pulls, like the neglect which consigned the flower of the

nation's manhood to fever camps and fed them on "embalmed beef," while rewarding the convicted commissary general with a six years' holiday on full pay, — all these things fitly stamp the intrenched and organized enemies of the republic. But "they cannot fool all the people all the time," and the election of 1900 is not far off.

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#### **ACADEMIC FREEDOM**

Perhaps the most substantial and significant achievement of the Buffalo Conference was its spontaneous and successful start of a People's College of Economics, to be absolutely free from political or capitalistic control, influence, or interference. The delegates to the conference were not rich — many of them made serious sacrifices to attend from points as distant as Oklahoma and California — but they subscribed \$15,000 for the new free college in almost as many minutes. The recognition of the opportunity for protest against the prostitution of economic teaching to please millionaire benefactors, or provide places for political henchmen was unmistakable. Equally clear and emphatic, was the recognition that academic freedom must be defended and preserved as the very ark of the covenant of all freedom. I hope there will be no need to establish the new college; that its fund may go to maintain a department of economics in one of our great universities, pledged to absolute freedom in research and freedom in the proclamation of the truth which such research reveals. But if our great universities are content to play the lackey to the rich, the people will turn from them and abundantly support a new university.

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#### **THE BIG STORES**

Exceedingly interesting and suggestive will be found the articles in this number on "Department Stores in the East," to be followed next month by a second series dealing with this problem as it is presented in the leading western cities. The tendency towards concentration and

consolidation in business is perhaps nowhere more strikingly displayed than in the remarkably rapid rise of the department store. This institution, in fact, furnishes an object lesson of greatest value. Making its way against very decided opposition, crushing relentlessly the small dealer, and revolutionizing the retail distribution of goods of every description, it has, despite all this, succeeded within ten years in establishing itself permanently. Directly dependent on the purchasing public, it, of course, has had to rely on the manifest advantages it offered to the consumer, not in the matter of cheapness alone, but also in the matter of convenience and efficiency of service. The department store is not only a trust in miniature, but may even be regarded as a miniature of all the trusts, which come together at the department store counter. A study of the development of the institution is valuable, not only for the light it throws on this particular branch of business, but even more so for the light it sheds on the whole matter of trust combination and concentration. Slowly but surely the businesses combined by the department store on the retail side, will be combined on the manufacturing and the wholesale side. A few years ago no reformer had a good word to say for the department store. It represented iniquity, as the source and support of the sweat-shop evil, of low pay, long hours, and hard conditions generally. The department stores were said to be accountable for the transformation of independent small merchants into servile, sycophantic employees, for the destruction of independence and manhood, and were considered centers of capitalistic aggregation and accumulation in its worst form. Now, however, so earnest a social reformer as Mrs. Florence Kelley, State Factory Inspector of Illinois, expresses herself in a recent letter to me as follows: "Personally, I think the department store an immense step forward; they are far more humane, with all their brutalities, than are the small employers. They need legislation on behalf of the employees, however, and must ultimately give way to the collective distribution of which they are the forerunners."

**A PREACHER  
ON  
PREACHERS**

The Rev. W. D. Simonds, of Madison, Wis., in his recent address before the American Unitarian Association, uttered some very pertinent truths regarding the common attitude of the clergy toward social reform. Mr. Simonds is a thinker and a worker, a man of hard common sense, who knows what he is talking about. My only objection to him is, that he is a parson. The idea of a priestly caste of spiritual leaders differentiated from their fellows by the title of "Reverend," and appointed to the pastoral charge of their flocks, is essentially mediæval and behind the times. The great men in the modern church have been great, not on account of their connection with it, or on account of anything the church gave them, but in spite of it. The funeral of Phillips Brooks in New York, presided over by the present ambassador to England, and in which leading men of the Jewish, Roman Catholic, and various Protestant denominations paid glowing tribute to Bishop Brooks's character and services, emphasized the fact that his greatness rested on his character as a man, rather than as an ecclesiastic. So it was with Henry Ward Beecher and Henry Edward Manning. Here is what Mr. Simonds says :

"If there is any man perfectly satisfied with existing social conditions, he has two diseases—a hardening of the heart and a softening of the brain. If there is anything that tires me, it is to hear some dapper little clergyman, who never took hold of the business end of a day's work in his life; who has had his three meals a day ever since he cut his teeth; who could not chop a tree without danger of chopping his legs, and who, if left with nothing but his hands, would be a beggar or a pauper in thirty days—it tires me to hear such a man talk of the compensations of poverty, and decry certain noble discontent in the modern conscience. Poverty! I have slept in its hard bed, I have eaten at its scant table, I have gazed into its gaunt face, I have felt the clutch of its bony hand; and I declare that hopeless, rayless, blighting poverty is not of God, but of the devil!"

The question that arises—and it is one that will not down—is whether or not the attitude of certain clergymen so well described by Mr. Simonds, is the common attitude of the clergy—the rule of which Mr. Simonds's own position is



the exception. There are men in the pulpit, thank God, in whom the citizen preponderates over the ecclesiastic. But the experience of our eminent contributors, George D. Herron, and William D. P. Bliss, for instance, demonstrate that the preacher of social righteousness is handicapped by sacerdotal ordination and pastoral charge. The function of pulpiteer, especially of pulpiteer to a rich and fashionable congregation, tends logically to degeneracy of the moral faculties.

**MRS. GESTE-  
FELD AND  
MRS. EDDY**

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Mrs. Ursula N. Gestefeld writes me from Chicago that a reference to her in Mrs. Woodbury's article on "Christian Science and its Prophetess," in the May Arena, as "one of Mrs. Eddy's former helpers with whom she eventually quarreled," is not entirely correct. "There has never been a quarrel between Mrs. Eddy and me," Mrs. Gestefeld writes, "for I never accepted a position where such a result could be possible. Although I was her pupil, from the day I left her class-room I have maintained an independent position. A few years later, by Mrs. Eddy's direction, some of her pupils came to me and requested my help in a work they were about to undertake, which I gladly gave, as they had not then crystallized into what they are now — a fanatical, denominational sect. With this exception, I have never been connected directly with that body of people known as Christian Scientists." Word comes to me from Los Angeles that the Christian Scientists of that city have split into warring factions. The whole colossal humbug is rapidly going to pieces, and with its disappearance will vanish the chief obstacle to the wider recognition and acceptance of the genuine metaphysical movement with its message of freedom to the individual and to society. The editor of the Christian Science organ here in Boston recently published elaborate affidavits to prove that Mrs. Eddy was not dead. It will take more than affidavits to prolong the life of the Great Spoon Syndicate.

P. T.

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

### **THROUGH NATURE TO GOD.**

By John Fiske. 16mo, pp. 194, \$1.00.  
Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Whatever may be the topic chosen by John Fiske, we may be certain of his absolute command of the knowledge required for its treatment, and of another quality not always united to knowledge—a crystal clearness in the use of words. Calm and untroubled English lends the final touch of charm. The book is designed as a companion to the two which have been more widely read than any other of his always popular works, "The Idea of God" and "The Destiny of Man." A radical evolutionist, and a scientific student in its broadest sense, we owe to him what leading scientists pronounce to be the most important development of the theory of evolution, recognition of the part played by the lengthening of infancy in the genesis of the human race. It is probably by this that he will be best remembered by scientific students, but the world owes him another debt, for his clear and unmistakable putting of the soul's consciousness of God, the certain hope of future life, and the relation of both these demonstrations to man's ethical life on the earth, which, it is plain, is a theater for the most marvelous drama of all, a play so complicated, so slowly unfolding, that we are but now becoming conscious of its meaning, and "even the angels desire to look into it."

The opening essay of the volume "The Mystery of Evil," is followed by "The Cosmic Roots of Love and Self-Sacrifice" and "The Everlasting Reality of Religion." Whatever may have been his personal doubts, in the past,—and agnosticism was the portion of most scientific men till facts compelled them into recognition of the spiritual forces they had ignored,—it long ago became clear that a new and nobler faith was opening to all who understood the message of science. To use his own words:

"When we have once thoroughly grasped the monotheistic conception of the universe as an organic whole, animated by the omnipresent spirit of God, we have forever taken leave of that materialism to which the universe was merely an endless multiplication of phenomena. We begin to catch glimpses of the meaning and dramatic purpose of things; at all events we rest assured that there really is such a meaning. . . . From man's origin we gather hints of his destiny, and the study of evolution leads our thoughts through Nature up to God."

We have been called a faithless generation. The century counts as almost purely material, yet never since time began has there been so earnest and so general a demand for spiritual certainty. The pessimist may sneer at some of its forms, but when the scientific man himself bows reverently before the new revelation from the atom and the cell, the time

has passed for fear that either cynicism or pessimism have further power for harm. The noble essay on "The Unseen World," which with its companion studies is now in its sixteenth edition, has had almost equal share in turning the scale for thousands of readers. The sceptic will still be in evidence, for it is a fashion with many. But for sceptics of all orders, literary and otherwise, this trilogy may be commended as the sane, balanced, orderly opening up of the new religion, that which marries Science to Religion, and opens to all the world the plain path, never more to be darkened or filled with stumbling blocks. "The Lesson of Evolution," he writes, "is, that through all the weary ages, the human soul has not been cherishing in Religion a delusive phantom, but, in spite of seemingly endless groping and stumbling, it has been rising to the recognition of its essential kinship with the ever-living God. Of all the implications of the doctrine of evolution with regard to man, I believe the very deepest and strongest to be that which asserts the everlasting reality of Religion."

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#### THE MIRACLES OF ANTICHRIST.

Translated from the Swedish of Selma Lagerlöf by Pauline Flach. Cloth, 12mo, pp. 378. \$1.50. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

The "idle singer of an empty day," whose touch has been all too discernible in a good deal of the fiction of the time, has given place to one of another and more strenuous order. It is the burdened singer of a too-full day, whose voice is heard in the singular but always powerful work of the new Swedish novelist, Selma Lagerlöf, whose novel of "The Story of Gösta Berling," has attracted wide attention, and by many critics been counted as prophecy of the novel for which all wait,—the twentieth century novel. But that coming piece of fiction will most surely possess characteristics that neither Miss Lagerlöf nor any other novelist of today has yet brought into line. In "Gösta Berling" she has given us, as it were, a Swedish *Niebelungen Lied*; pages crowded with characters as strange, as weird, as disproportioned as so many Brocken shadows. It is folk-lore and old ballads and traditions; it is the north of somber, quick-vanishing winter days, and bitter nights; it is the Edda put into the men and women, if these strange creations can so be called, of today. It is certain that however modern, these northern folk are still tinged with the memories and inheritances from their old mythology, with strange traits of the primitive man; and that facing these conditions the author, powerless before her extraordinary mass of material and minute detail, has worked it up as she could. Powerless, one says on the one hand. On the other, absolute mastery shows itself. Not Balzac nor George Sand have given more delicate, more patient and literal rendering of the poetry of common life, than this young woman, whose force is immense, and almost as untutored as that of the strange creations who move in her pages. There is deep humanity, great faith in the redemption of man by the power in woman, great faith, no less it would seem, in the traffic of souls still going on, the dominion of Satan in the world. But while the singularity of the handling will deter readers, for many more it will be a fascinating study, absolutely new of its kind.

In "The Miracles of Antichrist," Miss Lagerlöf has shifted her scene to Sicily, but has carried with her the same qualities that mark her first novel, if, indeed, this work can be called a novel, violating as it does at every turn the canons of the art of fiction. But where poet eyes see, one has to forgive vague and erratic renderings, when balanced, as hers are, by insight, sympathy, and high imagination. The title requires the explanation of the sentence from an old Sicilian legend printed on the title page: "When Antichrist comes, he shall seem Christ. There shall be great want, and Antichrist shall go from land to land and give bread to the poor. And he shall find many followers." It is impossible to determine the author's personal faith, since the statement varies from chapter to chapter, a fresh inference for each being the constant portion of the reader. The endless staccato touch, the hysterical quality she gives her heroine is so joined with exquisite deeds and thoughts that judgment is at sea finally. Nothing more profound and full of suggestion has been written in a generation than the vision of the Emperor in the opening chapter; nothing more charming and true to nature than the gradual conquest of the little Gaetano by Donna Elisa, and his child-life in the dim old shop and the beautiful village under the shadow of Etna, the great Mongibello. Her feeling for nature in every aspect is intense,—her interpretation that of a poet. But when all is said, the strangely brilliant pages leave one overburdened and perplexed. It becomes clear that as yet she has failed to catch the meaning of the modern movement; that socialism to her stands for much the same as utter anarchy, and that she does not see its bearing on the life of the future to be not a mere substitute for the methods of today, but a solvent from which will presently emerge new forms, with larger life for the individual. And not understanding, she lacks impressiveness, and answers no questions.

The novel of the twentieth century is yet to come. "The Miracles of Antichrist" has no faintest relation to it save in power of handling here and there. It is a novel of transition purely. It is filled with the uncertainty and unrest that mark most of the present thought. It lacks high faith, it is painfully restless, painfully overstrained. But it is none the less a novel that must be read, if only as indication of what absolute newness of material and of sensation lie before the reader. So keen an observer must needs learn quickly some lessons yet unmastered, and give us presently a more coherent presentation of the life she watches with an intensity that of itself somewhat clouds and hinders true vision. The translation is an excellent one, and the book itself is admirably made.

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#### ANGELS' WINGS.

A series of Essays on Art and its Relation to Life, by Edward Carpenter. 12mo, pp. 248, nine full-page plates. The Macmillan Co., New York.

A growing constituency in this country is learning to look for any word from Edward Carpenter, the English socialist, who like many other English socialists, is also a man of letters. Walt Whitman set the keynote for Carpenter, as he did for a group of young Englishmen who understood and recognized the "good gray poet" long before he knew much

but dishonor in his own country. Carpenter went farther than the rest, adopting his methods in versification, or the lack of it, and in his "Chants Toward Democracy," showing the same love of nature, the same sympathy with the struggle of humanity, that marks the elder poet. In a delightful little volume, "Civilization, its Cause and Cure," he gave us his observations in prose on the life of the nineteenth century, its abortive endeavor, its false ideals and its mad rush and struggle for wealth, with an insight so keen, a satire so biting, a humor so delicate and glancing, that even his enemies smiled, and his friends made it a pocket companion. A many-sided man, musical, artistic, a mystic, and always a lover of mankind, it is no surprise to find in the present volume suggestions of each and all of these tastes and tendencies. Taking Raphael's famous fresco, "La Disputa," in the Vatican, with its six winged angels, he writes delightfully as to the handling and meaning of "Wings" in the story of art from the Greek down, following it by a long and equally delightful essay on "Nature and Realism in Art;" its ending emphasizing the question that those who deny the place of realism are called on to answer:

"It was the wonder of the Athenian art-period that for once at least, then, in the history of the world, the very details of the daily life of the city were all united by the threads of poetry, of tradition, of custom, of religion, in one overruling idea of order, harmony, beauty, and dedication to the gods and the common life, so that the simplest, purest realism became at once the means of expressing the highest artistic feeling? The contagion of feeling induced by a work like the Parthenon frieze was such as to unite the people in the closest solidarity. Never before, probably, and certainly never since, have Nature and Art fused together so completely. Realism today, however skilful, almost necessarily contains ugliness, because the motive of life generally is ugly. Never again will art attain to its largest and best expressions, till daily life itself once more is penetrated with beauty, and with the spirit of dedication — each part to the service of the whole."

It is the artist that still speaks in the noble chapter on "The Human Body and its Relation to Art," no less than in that on "The Individual Impression." At every point one is tempted to quote passages of deepest significance. The dress the Macmillan Company has given to the book is worthy of the beautiful quality of the work itself, which will confirm the regard of those who deem the author as the natural successor of William Morris, though with less of the Berserker quality than that which marked the elder man.

HELEN CAMPBELL.

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### THREE MORE EXPOSURES.

"Legal Aspects of Christian Science."  
"Christian Science Examined." "Pass-  
ing of Christian Science."

the writer in the North American Review for March who discusses "The Legal Aspects of Christian Science," the authors of the two treatises, "Christian Science Examined," by Henry Varley, and "What Is Christian Science?" by Rev. P. C. Wolcott (cloth, 35 cents each;

Now that the ball has at last been set in motion, the number of *exposés* of "Christian Science" increases month by month. Like

Fleming H. Revell Co.), believe that the best way to expose this fanatical doctrine is to give it publicity. In both these treatises the doctrines of Mrs. Eddy's "Science and Health" are made to speak for and refute themselves in contrast to the teachings of orthodox Christianity. Mr. Varley takes up the propositions of "Science and Health," one by one, and shows their absurdity. Mr. Wolcott successively considers and rejects the metaphysical, theological, and therapeutic aspects of the system. Of the book itself, Mr. Wolcott says, "One may open it almost at random and read in either direction without materially modifying the character of the argument, or the sequence of ideas." "It is written without a trace of literary art, and is without a single redeeming grace of style to relieve the tedium of disjointed, inconsequential, dogmatic, and egotistical assertion and repetition." Both authors admit a certain measure of therapeutic success on the part of Christian Scientists, but believe that the metaphysical theories have nothing to do with the cures that have been wrought. The third author, C. G. Harger, Jr., entitles his *exposé*, "The Passing of Christian Science" (pp. 91, cloth 75 cents, paper 30 cents; D. J. Stoddard, Buffalo), and examines "Science and Health" as a religious doctrine and from the point of view of physical healing. It fearlessly exposes the ridiculous absurdities, false claims, and blasphemies of the alleged "discoverer" and divinely inspired prophet. The volume also contains an interesting collection of data relating to other fanatical movements.

H. W. DRESSER.

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#### MORALITY AS A RELIGION.

By W. R. A. Sullivan. 8vo, pp. 296,  
\$2.00. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The impression has gone abroad that "mere morality" is essentially cold and barren, and the chief criticism that has been passed on the services of societies for ethical culture is, that they lack the spirit of worship. One is sometimes tempted to say that the ethical culturists leave God out of account. Yet this apparent neglect is due to the fact that the ethical movement is a reaction from orthodox theology. It has thrown off the fetters of dogmatism and reacted far toward the other extreme. Even Mr. Salter's admirable treatise, "Ethical Religion," one of the most earnest appeals to duty ever published, is in many respects an intense struggle with agnosticism, which leaves one in doubt concerning the author's spiritual views. But in this volume ethical thought has become more spiritual, and one is imbued with a true reverence and worship. The author has read so deeply in Kant, August Comte, Tennyson and Emerson, that these great souls seem to reproduce themselves in him, to voice their common message. Mr. Sullivan is not a mere moralizer, he is also a poet. Cold analysis is never permitted to intrude upon the confines of poetry, the love of the beautiful. The cold analyst might complain that the author always stops short of philosophy, and assumes what he does not prove. But logic lovers can find proof in other treatises; here we have ethics passing into religion, an earnest



straightforward appeal to duty because it is beautiful, because in performing it we discover our fellowship with God.

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#### SANITARY ENGINEERING.

By William Paul Gerhard. 16 mo, pp. 132, \$1.00. W. T. Comstock, New York.

Mr. Gerhard has long been known as an enthusiastic worker in his chosen field, and as one whose manuals are regarded by the institutes of technology as admirable text-books. As speaker he has performed equally good service in popularizing the thought which fifty years ago barely existed, and that only in the minds of the few who saw its coming place in the life of the people. His recent address before a meeting of the Brooklyn Engineers' Club, entitled "A Half-Century of Sanitation," should be read by every student in the lines, and is especially commended to the chairman of the municipal improvement committee in every woman's club throughout the country. In the little volume before us, the aim is simply to give definitions, and this is done with the same accuracy and clearness that mark the work of this author throughout. Public health is beginning to have the consideration it long lacked, although that eminent sanitarian, Dr. Benjamin H. Richardson, long ago asserted that not till women were taught sanitation would there be any general improvement in the race. It is well, then, that the way grows clearer, and that this phase of work for the race is gaining an attention never until now given.

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#### WHAT SENSE! OR ECONOMIC NUTRITION.

By Horace Fletcher. 16 mo, pp. 128, 75 cents. Herbert Stone & Co., Chicago.

Mr. Fletcher has made for himself such a name for wholesome, hearty optimism, and his passage from "Menticulture" and "Happiness," on to the social problems involved in his equally happy treatment of our waifs in "That Last Waif, or Social Quarantine," has so confirmed the belief in his keen common sense, that the present booklet is likely to be accepted because the others have been, although well worth consideration on its own account. However one may disagree with some of his conclusions, anything that points the way to a simplification of living, especially of diet, does good service to a weary generation. We are constantly complicating not only in wants, but in elaborate service of those wants, and the table leads. Mr. Fletcher is convinced that one meal a day is enough, and argues entertainingly to that effect. The day laborer would fare ill on his regimen, which might, however, be adopted with advantage by the overfed the world over. But for the majority of rational beings, while simplification is imperatively needed, the wisest thinkers in these lines would tell us that two meals are better than one, and that the body, for most of us, while ready to do far better work on less food than we at present take, still calls for two,—in invalid cases, for three moderate meals. The literary worker may experiment in Mr. Fletcher's lines to advantage, and it would be interesting to know if his own conversion proves a permanent one.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

The Light of Reason, a solution of the economic problem, by A. B. Franklin; paper, 192 pp., 35 cents; C. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

Questions and Answers on Finance and Economics; paper, 74 pp.; and The Impending Crisis: The Republic in Danger; 59 pp.; by Hermann Haupt, Washington, D. C.

Clerical Sportsmen, a protest against the vacation pastime of ministers of the Gospel, by J. H. Moore; 6 pp., 4 cents; Chicago Vegetarian, McVicker's Theater Bldg., Chicago.

Metius, The Hollander, Inventor and Discoverer; 10 pp.; published by the author, Dunkirk, N. Y.

The Right to Property in an Idea, Allen R. Foote; 16 pp.; Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.

Powers of Municipalities—A Discussion, by Allen R. Foote; paper, 79 pp; The Commercial Club, Indianapolis.

Par: A Labor Trust, by S. E. Carlin; 16 pp., 25 cents; Smalley Printing Co., Chicago.

Saline Starvation and How to Avoid it, by C. D. Hunter; paper, 5 cents; Christianity and Vegetarianism, by various authors; paper, 5 cents; Chicago Vegetarian.

Leading Cases on the Law of Legal Tender and Money, by J. J. Crandall; cloth, 351 pp.; S. Cheir & Sons, Camden, N. J.

The New Economy, by Laurence Gronlund; cloth, 364 pp; Herbert S. Stone & Co., Chicago.

The Story of France, by Thomas E. Watson; Vol. I., 695 pp., 8vo, \$2.50; The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Philippine Islands, by Ramon Reyes Lala, a native of Manila; cloth, 345 pp., \$2.50; Continental Publishing Co., New York.

The Bible, an Historical and Critical Study, by A. P. Barton, editor of The Life; paper, 68 pp., 50 cents; published by the author, Kansas City.

A Pure Democracy, and How it can be Secured: Initiative and Referendum, by R. S. Thompson; paper, 44 pp., 5 cents; The New Era Co., Springfield, Ohio.

The Philippine Islands, by Dean C. Worcester; cloth, illustrated. 520 pp., \$4.00; The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Love of Money, a lyrical and historical drama, by Perry Marshall; paper, 56 pp., 25 cents; Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

Millennial Dawn, Vol. IV., The Day of Vengeance, by C. T. Russell; paper, 656 pp., 35 cents; Tower Publishing Co., Alleghany, Pa.

The Millennial Kingdom and the American People; Our Near Future: A Message to all the Governments of the Earth; Mysteries Unveiled; paper, 50 cents each, published by the author, Kansas City, Mo.

Christian Science, a Sociological Study, an exposure of the fanaticism of Mrs. Eddy and her followers from a medical point of view, by C. A. L. Reed, M. D.; paper, 32 pp., 10 cents; McClelland & Co., Cincinnati, O.

## WORDS OF APPRECIATION.

**Hon. John T. Kenney, Celina, Ohio:** Allow me most sincerely and heartily to congratulate you and your associates upon the sudden and splendid change in the fortunes of The Arena. Its future now, I know, is assured as well as its field of usefulness magnificently enlarged. It bears the evidence, too, of being now in the hands of practical men as well as literary artists.

**Hon. John Lamb, M. C., Third Virginia District:** Enclosed is \$2.50 for renewal of my subscription. I hope The Arena will have success. It is singular to us that in the heart of Boston such heavy blows are struck for reform. It gives us who suffer much hope and encouragement.

**E. F. Strickland, Benton Harbor, Mich.:** Allow me to say a few words of appreciation for the masterly way in which The Arena has been kept up since you have assumed the control. I congratulate you, and hope its circulation may be as largely increased as it deserves. I have taken the magazine for years.

**William George Jordan, (Ed. Saturday Evening Post, Philadelphia.)** I have read The Arena with interest. It is brighter, fresher, and better than the old Arena, and I congratulate you sincerely upon your success. The financial side of it should be as satisfactory as is the literary part.

**Harriet A. Townsend, Buffalo, N. Y.:** I congratulate The Arena on its bright outlook. It will do brave work if it continues as it has begun.

**Toledo Blade:** The Arena has taken on new life with its change of management.

**Frank E. Anderson, Alexandria, Va.:** I congratulate you on your July number of The Arena. You are doing superb work as an Editor. Keep it up! There ought to be room for *one* radical review in so ring-ridden a Republic as ours. Let yours be that one.

**Lucy Cleveland, New York:** May I express to you my keen pleasure in the steadily growing strength of this really great magazine? The Arena easily leads every magazine in the land.

**Indianapolis Journal:** Scarcely has the death of the Boston Arena been noted, when it rises from its ashes into renewed life. Paul Tyner, a socialistic gentleman of Denver, now has it in charge, and a glance through the pages of the October issue shows that little change is to be expected in its character. The new editor, however, is enthusiastic. "I believe," he says, "that underlying this new development of the career of the Arena, there is a divine purpose and a divine power which must carry it on to victory—to the permeation of the thought of the age with new light and new life; to the awakening of the people from the apathy which permits their enslavement; to the larger and surer realization of the common human birthright of liberty, fraternity, and equality of opportunity."

**Charlotte (Mich.) Tribune:** The July Arena, as usual, deals with the great unsolved problems that are claiming the attention of those who believe in a republican form of government, a pure democracy in which the interests of all the people should be considered. It is undeniably the people's magazine. Money does not corrupt it, nor is the voice of the demagogue heard in it. It appeals to honest men to forget party, to be true to themselves, their posterity, their country, and their God, by acting independently in all things, by having for their single aim the bettering of conditions for all the people.

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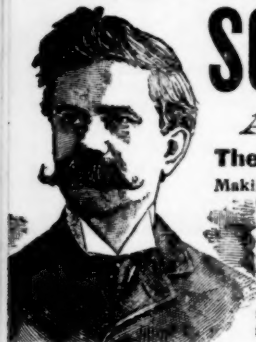
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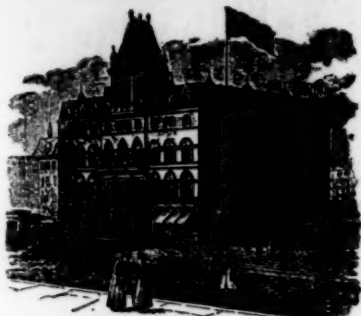
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